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ABSTRACT

This collection of essays is designed for the faculty member and others who care about the retention and success of students of color in gateway courses in Sociology. The book examines assumptions about diversity and teaching and learning and provides strategies for enacting learning environments that are more inclusive and conducive to the success of all students. The chapters of part 1, "Creating a Climate for Diversity in the Discipline," are: (1) "(Re)framing the Issues--Changing Pedagogy, Not Students: A Conversation with Mark Chesler" (Jeffrey Chin); (2) "Effective Multicultural Teaching in Research Universities" (Mark Chesler); and (3) "Translating Research into Practice: A Conversation with Walter Allen, with Annotated Bibliography" (Jeffrey Chin). Part 2, "Efforts at the Disciplinary and Institutional Levels," contains: (4) "ASA's MOST Program: Effecting Departmental Change To Build Excellent and Inclusive Sociology Departments" (Carla B. Howery and Felice J. Levine); (5) "A Case Study of Departmental Change Aimed at Promoting the Success of Students of Color" (Edward L. Kain); (6) "The Educational Leadership Corps: An Undergraduate Program of Professional Socialization for Students of Color" (Catherine White Berheide); and (7) "Preparing Future Sociology Faculty To Teach in Diverse Classrooms" (Mary C. Wright and Julica Hermann). Essays in part 3, "Pedagogical Approaches, Institutional Contexts," are: (8) "The Empowerment of Students of Color in the College and in the Classroom: Theory and Praxis in Sociology" (Mary Johnson Osirim); (9) "Creating, Teaching, and Learning Social Theory at Spelman College: A Case Study in Voice, Pedagogy, and the Familiar" (Mona Taylor Phillips and Kysha Doss); (10) "Relationships, Success, and Community College Students of Color" (Richard Bucher); and (11) "Service-Learning and Success in Sociology" (Scott J. Myers-Lipton). Part 4, "Sample Syllabi," contains: (12) "Sociology 80: Social Problems"; (13) "Sociology 181/281: Sociology Service-

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Learning Internship" (Scott Myers-Lipton); (14) "Sociology 103: U.S. Social Structure" (Mary J. Osirim); and (15) "Sociology 422: Contemporary Theory" (Mona T. Philips). Part 5, "Sample Assessments," contains: (16) "Sociology 80: Social Problems-Integration Papers, Research Essay"; (17) "Sociology 181/281: Sociology Service-learning Internship-Sociological Reflection Essays" (Scott Myers-Lipton); (18) "Sociology 103: U.S. Social Structure-Outline for Final Papers, Interview Measures" (Mary J. Osirim); and (19) "Sociology 422: Contemporary Theory-Ideas inside History: Creating a Narrative of Your Times" (Mona T. Phillips). Most chapters contain references. (SLD)

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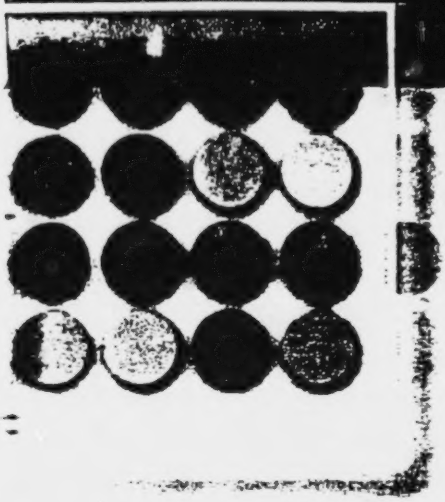

INCLUDED IN

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LEARNING CLIMATES
THAT CULTIVATE RACIAL
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Included in Sociology

Learning Climates That Cultivate Racial and Ethnic Diversity

Jeffrey Chin, Catherine White Berheide, and
Dennis Rome, editors

Carolyn Vasques-Scalera, AAHE project editor

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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION
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The American Sociological Association (ASA), founded in 1905, is a nonprofit membership organization dedicated to advancing sociology as a scientific discipline and profession serving the public good. With more than 13,000 members, ASA encompasses sociologists who are faculty members at colleges and universities, researchers, practitioners, and students.

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Foreword

The American Association for Higher Education is pleased to publish this most timely volume, *Included in Sociology: Learning Climates That Cultivate Racial and Ethnic Diversity*, the second of three volumes that showcase innovative teaching and learning strategies, provide faculty in selected disciplines examples from their peers as to how they can make a difference in the success of students of color in introductory and gateway courses, and promote conversations in departments across the nation about the importance of diversity and the opportunity it brings to explore innovative pedagogy and revitalize learning in classrooms.

The 21st century is the time for higher education to rise to the occasion to serve the most diverse student population in history. For more than 30 years, AAHE has been the premier higher education association to lead faculty to achieve teaching and learning excellence. For the past decade or so, colleges and universities around the country have been trying to determine the impact of diversity on curricular and cocurricular life. In 1999, AAHE's Board of Directors officially adopted a statement on diversity in which they pledge: "AAHE will continue through its projects, conferences, and publications to assist campuses to increase access and diversity for students, faculty, and staff, as well as in curricula and programs." This publication builds on that pledge.

The three volumes (in communication, sociology, and English studies) also represent AAHE's continuing commitment to collaboration on two levels. First, they bring together AAHE's own work in assessment, faculty roles and rewards, teaching and learning, and diversity in new ways. Second, AAHE is also collaborating with disciplinary associations — the National Communication Association, the American Sociological Association, and the National Council of Teachers of English, respectively. All three books are produced under the leadership of Dr. Carolyn Vasques-Scalera, AAHE's director of diversity initiatives, and disciplinary colleagues, with funding from the Knight Foundation.

Research shows that the success of students of color ultimately depends on the transformation of faculty who teach them, as well as institutional and departmental climates that value the presence of diverse students. AAHE as a praxis organization is committed to taking research and operationalizing it through exemplary practice, as modeled through this publication.

Yolanda T. Moses
President, American Association for Higher Education

The Diversity Framework Informing This Volume

Carolyn Vasques-Scalera

This volume is one of three in a project funded by the Knight Foundation. Each asks the question how can we create learning climates (in sociology, in English studies, and in communication, respectively) that cultivate racial and ethnic diversity and promote the success of *all* our students?

The concept for these disciplinary monographs emerged from two important realities. First, despite gains made in access to higher education, numerous studies show that students of color remain underrepresented at every degree level and in many disciplines. Second, despite all we have learned about effective teaching and learning and about the importance of diversity in general, we haven't done enough to translate that general knowledge into specific disciplinary and teaching practices. These volumes are an attempt to make more intentional the connections between diversity and teaching/learning and to provide faculty with concrete strategies for enacting those connections in their discipline. To that end, there are several critical questions that must be considered:

What are our assumptions about who learns and how? Do we enact practices that suggest that there is only one way to teach and learn and belong to a disciplinary community? Do we send the message that only some students are capable of learning; that students are somehow deficient if they fail to learn under the conditions set explicitly or implicitly by the discipline? Do we adhere to elitist "weed-out" notions of success, that students who fail to succeed simply did not belong? Do we think of diversity in terms of excellence, or diminishment? Why should disciplines care about diversity?

The Framework's Elements

"Diversity" is a term that has been used widely and loosely with very different meanings and implications for practice. The questions posed above reveal some important insights about the particular diversity framework informing this volume and its companion two volumes.

1

These volumes challenge the deficit model of diversity, in which difference is equated with deficiency and seen as a challenge rather than as an opportunity for learning. *All* students and faculty bring a wealth of tradition, information, and experience to their understandings of the world, and that wealth can contribute in meaningful ways to the learning process. Furthermore, to focus on how some students are different, or to assume that *different* means "deficient," is to leave unexamined how the learning experience is set up to the benefit of particular groups by rewarding their culture-specific ways of knowing and doing.

2

These volumes move beyond a singular focus on access and representational diversity — the *numbers* of students of color in our classes and campuses — to examine the experiences students face once there. It's not enough to recruit diverse students if we do nothing to retain them; that is, if we don't offer a teaching/learning environment where they are genuinely included and are expected to succeed.

3

In thinking about students' experiences, these volumes expand the conversation beyond the usual focus on content — *what* we teach -- to a discussion about the impact on students of process — *how* we teach. The volumes don't advocate an additive approach to curriculum, in which diverse perspectives are simply tacked on to the content of courses. Rather, they prompt us to think deeply about what it means to be included in classroom and disciplinary communities, and the ways in which we create, intentionally or not, barriers to meaningful student learning and participation in those communities. The volumes ask faculty to examine the hidden messages in our pedagogy, and they provide some alternate ways of teaching that are more inclusive and conducive to the success of diverse students.

4

These volumes challenge the notion that diversity is solely or primarily the responsibility of certain faculty (usually faculty of color); involves particular students (usually students of color); and is relevant only to certain areas of the campus (student affairs) or to specific disciplines (humanities and social sciences). The issues they raise and the practices they advocate illustrate not merely the relevance but the absolute *centrality* of diversity to teaching and learning. Their essays challenge not merely pedagogical practices but the epistemological foundations upon which each discipline rests. Each volume makes diversity relevant to that disciplinary context and raises important questions about what it means to engage in a disciplinary community that truly values diversity. They make clear that teaching and learning *about* diversity is not the same as engaging diversity and diverse learners in the learning process. As such, they model for other disciplines how to take up these issues.

5

While these volumes primarily address students of color and gateway courses, the issues raised apply to other forms of difference; the practices described transcend specific courses; and because the volumes are essentially about enhancing pedagogy and engaging diversity, the benefits extend to *all* students. An important theme concerns not simply making curriculum and pedagogy more relevant to students of color, but helping all students (and indeed, faculty) become more culturally aware and multiculturally competent. A growing body of research documents the benefits of having diverse learners and of engaging diversity issues — not just for the success of students of color, but for all students.

6

Finally, while the focus is mainly on classrooms, these volumes include essays and instructional practices that situate the classroom within its larger departmental, institutional, and disciplinary contexts. A meaningfully diverse classroom climate is a necessary but insufficient criterion to achieving the goals outlined above. Students also need to see themselves reflected in the curriculum and in the faces of faculty and administrators. Students need to experience an inclusive campus climate and disciplinary community. Individual faculty members enacting good practices in their classes is not enough; we need departmental, institutional, and discipline-wide support for diversity.

A Prompt for Conversation and Change

Thus the title of the volumes, *Included in* — which reflects that it is not enough to recruit students of color into higher education and into the disciplines if, once there, their progress is blocked by teaching/learning practices that exclude them. Nor is it enough to focus on persistence and success if, by that, we mean success only in the academy's dominant ways of thinking and learning. To their credit, many students of color have succeeded in higher education and will continue to succeed despite too-often unwelcoming climates and other barriers. But the title reflects the larger outcome we all desire; that is, for students of color to feel *included* in a discipline, to feel a sense of ownership and empowerment in the learning process, the discipline, the academy. The subtitle — *Learning Climates That Cultivate Racial and Ethnic Diversity* — reflects the means for getting there, that we must intentionally *cultivate* diversity (in all its forms). To do that is not simply a matter of letting people in, it means opening up the knowledge-creation process. The result is a more vital and viable discipline.

The use of the word *cultivate* is very intentional. These volumes present a fundamental challenge to the weed-out mentality that says only some students can learn and those who fail don't deserve to be there. But neither do the volumes assume that to succeed, students simply need to learn better study skills. They are not about changing who students are or how they learn. Rather, these volumes are intended to encourage faculty to examine our assumptions about who students are and how they learn, and the ways in which our pedagogy either contributes to or inhibits the inclusion and success of all our students.

These volumes are not intended as the final or definitive word on cultivating racial and ethnic diversity in the disciplines. Nor are they meant to be cookbooks for doing so. We risk perpetuating the exclusion and marginalization of students of color if we equate *identity* with *learning style*, or apply unreflectively the instructional practices that work well in one context with one group of students to all contexts and groups. Instead, the volumes are intended as a resource for conversation and examining assumptions, and they provide some guidelines for practice. But we must think carefully about who our students are, and enact multiple forms of teaching and learning that provide opportunities for all students to be genuinely included.

Clearly the issues raised in this volume and the other two point to the need for more research in the scholarship of teaching and learning that explicitly investigates diversity questions. My hope is that you will find the monographs — individually and collectively — stimulating and empowering in furthering such work in collaboration with colleagues on campus, at your disciplinary meetings, and at AAHE events. I invite you to visit the AAHE website (www.aahe.org) for further resources and for venues in which to share your progress.

These are issues about which I care deeply, and with which I continue to struggle in my own teaching. It is exciting and illuminating to learn how different disciplines are grappling with these issues and bringing discipline-specific research to bear on pedagogical practices.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my thanks to the editorial team from sociology, Jeffrey Chin (Le Moyne College), Catherine White Berheide (Skidmore College), and Dennis Rome (Indiana University) for their hard work in bringing this volume to fruition; also to our colleagues at the American Sociological Association, particularly Carla Howery and Felice Levine, for their support of this collaboration; and finally, to Tracy Ore, of St. Cloud State University, for her helpful comments on the manuscript. Many thanks to Bry Pollack, director of publications at AAHE, for her keen editorial eye.

This volume (and those in communication and English studies) would not be possible without the generous support of the Knight Foundation and the guidance of Rick Love and Julia Van. Most especially, thanks go to the faculty members and students in sociology who willingly and ably raised some critical issues and shared exemplary practices by which we might create more-inclusive disciplines, and indeed a more-inclusive academy.

Building a More Inclusive Discipline

Transforming the Teaching of Sociology

Catherine White Berheide, Jeffrey Chin, and Dennis Rome

How can we be more effective teachers for all sociology students? What can we do to enhance our students' learning? Are there techniques that are especially effective when teaching sociology to heterogeneous student populations, particularly populations that are racially diverse? How can we create environments for student learning in an increasingly diverse society? These are just a few of the questions this volume attempts to address.

By foregrounding these questions, this volume, like the others in this American Association for Higher Education (AAHE) series, challenges the notion that students of color are somehow inadequate or deficient. Instead, it calls us to examine our assumptions and practices. What would we learn if we rigorously analyzed our own teaching? This volume invites us to apply our sociological imaginations to our own classrooms, departments, and discipline.

Sociologists investigate the social world. Our classrooms are part of that world, but we do not often use the data from our own research to inform our teaching. We do not engage in what McKinney, Saxe, and Cobb call the *sociology of teaching sociology:* "Most of us do not use the discipline of sociology sufficiently to understand teaching and undergraduate education" (1998: 2). In his chapter in Part Three of this volume, Richard Bucher specifically exhorts us to use sociology to examine our own teaching:

> The promise of sociology is that it helps us understand the "real world," or the larger social context in which learning and student success take place. For example, the sociological perspective helps us understand how students' power and status outside school may alter their educational experiences. It provides insight into a wide array of social forces that affect the success of students of color, including the diverse expectations and life experiences they bring to college, as well as the barriers and support they encounter at college.

In short, Bucher reminds us of how important it is to bring our sociological imagination to bear on our own classrooms to understand how and why learning takes place.

We want to thank Carolyn Vasques-Scalera and her reviewer for their helpful comments on an earlier draft and Carla Howery for her unwavering support to us as we worked on this volume.

Several features distinguish sociology from most other disciplines in ways that directly affect our role in teaching an increasingly diverse population of college students. First, the topic of race has always been at the heart of our discipline's intellectual territory. Increasingly, sociologists (e.g., Andersen and Hill Collins 2001; Chow and Berheide 1994; Chow, Wilkinson, and Baca Zinn 1996; Kang 1997) are making race, class, and gender central to their research. What would it mean to make them equally central to our pedagogy? Sociological research provides us with knowledge about race that we should share with all our students and that we ourselves should use to inform our teaching. For example, we understand the dynamics of tokenism in the workplace (e.g., Collins 1997; Williams 1987); we should bring those insights to bear on the dynamics of college classrooms. The sociological literature on teaching about race (c.f. Bohmer and Briggs 1991; Chesler and Zuniga 1991; Fritschner 2001; Marullo 1998; Moulder 1997; Obach 1999) reveals that students of color and white students often approach the topic of race differently and learn the essential sociological points about race at different rates of speed. In general, this literature suggests that white students and students of color start off with different bases of knowledge about race. Armed with this information, sociologists can design more effective courses. In short, issues sociologists routinely study, such as race, are ones we should keep in mind when examining our own classroom, departmental, and disciplinary practices.

This volume is not concerned, however, with teaching about race, as important as that topic is. Instead, the focus of this volume is on the challenges and opportunities faculty face when teaching in diverse sociology classrooms. Although these two issues are related, we have noticed a tendency for discussions about how to teach sociology to racially heterogeneous student populations to slip into ones on how to teach about race. There is a wealth of sociological literature, much of it in *Teaching Sociology*, that considers how to teach the topic of race (e.g., Downey and Torrecilha 1994; Lucal 1996; Moremen 1997; Morrissey 1992; Pence and Fields 1999; Wahl et al. 2000). There is less, however, about how to engage diverse students in sociology classrooms. We know very little about how white students and students of color learn in the core courses for the major, especially introductory sociology, research methods and statistics, theory, a capstone course, and various substantive electives. This volume is a step toward redressing this gap.

A second distinctive feature of sociology is that it attracts disproportionately large numbers of students of color precisely because our courses address issues of race, inequality, and the like that are part of their everyday lived experiences. Not surprisingly, some, but by no means all, students of color are interested in gaining a greater understanding of their lives by enrolling in sociology classes that explore those issues. For example, more than half the people enrolled in a course Racism and Intellectuals were members of racial/ethnic minority groups in a college where students of color represent less than 20 percent of the overall student body (Batur-VanderLippe 1999). Nor does the overrepresentation of students of color in sociology courses occur only in those on race; Heikes (1999), for example, reports that 43 percent of his social psychology course were students of color, whereas only 25 percent of the university's student body were. In short, students of color are more likely to take a course or major in sociology than in many other liberal arts or professional disciplines. We have an obligation to ensure that we are serving these students and indeed all our students well.

Third, our discipline's social justice values require us to work harder to overcome inequality rather than simply to allow our classrooms to be used to "cool out" students of color or working-class and poor students (Clark 1960). Increasing numbers of sociologists (e.g., Crawford et al. 1996; Mitchell 1995; Rendon and Hope 1996; Williams et al. 1999) challenge us to think about how to create successful learning environments for students of color in our classes. This volume is designed to provide some resources for doing so.

Current demographic trends indicate that the proportions of people of color in the United States, especially Hispanics, will increase substantially, placing pressure on colleges and universities to adapt to meet the needs of a more racially and ethnically diverse population. This transformation is already well under way. Students of color rose from 16 percent in 1976 to 30 percent of college students in 2000, largely as a result of growing numbers of Hispanics and Asians (Choy 2002; National Center for Education Statistics 2001). Between 1976 and 1999, "the proportion of Asian and Pacific Islander students rose from 2 percent to 6 percent, and the Hispanic proportion rose from 4 percent to 9 percent" (National Center for Education Statistics 2001). Despite this growth, students of color remain underrepresented in college, given that 34 percent of the traditional college-age population are members of racial minority groups (Choy 2002). Interestingly, for each minority group, more women currently attend college than do men (Carlson 1999). As a result of these demographic trends, demand for multicultural curricula and faculty of color will continue to rise. In sum, higher education must respond to the changing ethnic diversity of the U.S. population. As sociologists, we can lead the way on our campuses by showing how to integrate students of color in our classes successfully.

Broad societal factors, including especially the quality of public education from kindergarten through high school, as well as the politics of higher education today, set the context within which faculty have to decide what to do to improve the education students of color receive in sociology. This broader context includes many very important issues, ranging from inequities in public school funding and tracking to the dearth of faculty of color and the marginality of ethnic studies programs. This volume cannot cover all these topics; instead, it focuses exclusively on the question of what sociology departments and faculty can do to help students of color succeed in college. Sociology faculty, at best, control their own curricula. There is not much we can do individually about primary and secondary school problems such as tracking and funding inequalities. Unfortunately, many of our students, including a disproportionate number of students of color, bring to the college classroom the accumulated disadvantages of a flawed and racially unequal public school system. The challenge sociology faculty face is how to overcome those cumulative disadvantages so that however unequal their preparation for college, students leave sociology classes equally well prepared.

To promote the success of students of color from preschool through graduate school, more multicultural content as well as new and better forms of pedagogy are required. How should sociologists respond to multiculturalism in their sociology classes so that students of color experience greater success? How should sociologists adopt cooperative learning, new digital technologies, and other innovative pedagogies in the college classroom so that students of color experience greater success?

The main goal of the multiculturalism movement is to introduce more courses and educational materials on different cultures, subcultures, and social groups into school curricula. The driving principle behind this movement is the belief that traditional curricula tend to stereotype women, people of color, lesbians and gays, and the working class, thereby giving an inaccurate picture of these groups and of society. Courses in African American studies, Asian studies, Hispanic or Latino studies, Jewish studies, women's studies, and more recently gay and lesbian studies attempt to convey the rich cultural traditions and scholarship in these areas. At the college level, significant numbers of these courses are taught by sociologists and housed in sociology departments, attracting substantial numbers of students of color to our classrooms.

More-active forms of pedagogy, such as cooperative learning, have proved more effective than traditional classroom methods for learning subject matter, increasing self-esteem, and improving race relations (e.g., Gurin 2000). Digital technologies are new enough that we still have many unanswered questions about their effects on student learning, but we do know that access to these technologies is differentially allocated by race as well as other social categories. (See Benson et al. 2002 for an extended discussion of the effect of computer technologies on teaching and learning in sociology.) To prepare the young for a rapidly changing world, sociology must embrace newly emerging ideas and techniques instead of clinging to traditional content and methods.

Not surprisingly, given what we know as sociologists about social movements, efforts to transform higher education have produced a backlash. "In the last decade, affirmative-action opponents set out to really put this issue on the agenda, and they've succeeded," reports Ann Springer, associate counsel with the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) in Washington, DC. "They're running a very well-organized campaign, and it's very well funded" (Pine 2001). Since California passed the voter initiative known as Proposition 209 in November 1996, affirmative action policies — particularly those at state-funded colleges and universities — have been under full-scale attack. In Texas, the March 1996 *Hopwood v. University of Texas* decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, established that "educational diversity" was not "a compelling state interest." Two years later, Washington passed I-2000, its own version of the Proposition 209 initiative.

Ann Springer and others (e.g., Bowen and Bok 1998; Gurin 2000) argue that these successful anti-affirmative action initiatives harm everybody, not just the students of color who are denied admission. They concur with Astin's conclusion (1993) that diverse institutions are better institutions. In contrast to the *Hopwood* decision, Judge Duggan ruled in *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2000) that affirmative action is lawful and necessary precisely because a diverse student body has a measurable positive effect on everyone's education. He based his ruling, in part, on a report by University of Michigan professor Patricia Gurin, who found that students "learn better in a diverse educational environment, and . . . are better prepared to become active participants in our pluralistic, democratic society once they leave" (Gurin 2000). This insight provides one rationale for this volume: that diversity benefits all students.

The "diversity framework" that Carolyn Vasques-Scalera outlines in her preface informs this volume in particular and the AAHE project in general. The purposes are to (1) foreground the intersection of diversity with teaching and learning; (2) provide tools for faculty that enable them to understand those intersections in sociology; and (3) address how we teach rather than what we teach. As Vasques-Scalera makes clear, faculty often approach teaching students of color from a deficit model. (See the interview with Mark Chesler for a fuller discussion of this problem.) This volume seeks to combat the deficiency view, which assumes that students of color come to us underprepared and possessing inadequate academic skills, and we as faculty must go the extra mile to make it possible for students of color to do well. A better way to look at the issue is to acknowledge that learning is difficult for everyone and that it requires a certain amount of vulnerability. Faculty, therefore, must create classroom climates that are safe for learning.

Yet Scisney-Matlock and Matlock observe that students of color sometimes experience college campuses as hostile and unfriendly environments (2001: 77). Sociologists Joe Feagin, Hernan Vera, and Nikitah Imani (1996) concur. Their book *The Agony of Education* provides a rich analysis of the lives of black students on predominantly white campuses. The students report at length about the problems they face as a result of "the whiteness of university settings." They describe in poignant detail the stereotyping and discrimination they experience, as well as some of the positive changes that create a more welcoming campus climate. This research challenges us to think about how to make the classroom a safe place for all students, but especially for students of color, to wrestle with difficult questions, including questions about race.

This task is not an easy one. It certainly is not enough just to add more content about race to the sociology curriculum. More than 20 years ago, one of the editors of this volume sat in an undergraduate race and ethnic relations course with an uneasy feeling in his stomach while the class read Nathan Glazer's *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1970). The problem was not whether the images Glazer drew (i.e., the shabby tenements, littered streets, groups of young men hanging out on stoops and corners, and dealers brazenly peddling drugs) were accurate or whether they should be discussed. Rather, the editor felt uneasy about how white students in the class would interpret them and, more important, how the white professor would suggest they be interpreted. Unfortunately, the sociology professor presented the observations as if they should be accepted at face value, and thus failed to place them within a larger historical and social context. Even when faculty do bring a critical lens to bear on racial patterns, students of color may find it painful to sit in classrooms that examine analytically phenomena they have experienced personally. Sociology faculty risk facing this problem any time they teach topics that may evoke painful personal experiences for their students such as child abuse or the effects of alcoholism on families.

What are the implications of these kinds of experiences for teaching sociology? What do we need to do differently so that students of color and indeed all our students do not share that uneasy feeling in their stomachs, so that our sociology classes are not agonizing? Today, as a sociology professor who regularly teaches race and ethnic relations classes, that editor is careful that his students do not indulge merely in gratuitous moral judgments; instead, his classes establish the linkages between observed behavior and the more distant and less visible social forces that are ultimately responsible for the production and reproduction of racial inequality. Other sociologists recommend using classroom ground rules (e.g., Arnold 1995; Cannon 1990) and other techniques (Jakubowski 2001; Poll 1995).

One way to promote the success of students of color is to recruit more faculty of color who would bring forth a critical perspective in their classrooms and in their scholarship. Increasing the number of sociologists of color teaching and publishing sociology is precisely the goal of the American Sociological Association's Minority Fellowship program and its Minority Opportunities through School Transformation (MOST) program as well as Skidmore College's Educational Leadership Corps (ELC). (See Part Two of this volume for discussion of the MOST and ELC programs.) We still need to take steps now, though, before we have achieved greater racial diversity in the discipline, to promote the success of students of color in sociology classes. This volume responds to that need.

The essays and instructional practices in this volume raise the following questions, some directly and some indirectly: (1) What are the barriers to success for students of color in sociology courses? (2) What are some pedagogical and curricular strategies that break down those barriers? (3) What are the larger departmental, institutional, and discipline-wide actions needed to promote more inclusive learning environments? (4) What strides has sociology made to teach more inclusively? What pedagogical, curricular, and theoretical work still needs to be done? What further research is needed? How can sociology learn from and contribute to other disciplines' work to become more inclusive? (5) What resources can sociology faculty and departments draw on to enhance learning for all students? We need to change what we do in the classroom to assist all students in the difficult process of learning.

The selections in this volume are organized into three parts. They all address the issue of how to enhance the learning climate in sociology classrooms and departments specifically and in the wider discipline more broadly. The first part sets the context by defining the issues. It includes contributions from two senior scholars who have devoted their careers to studying student access, success, and diversity in higher education.

The first piece is a short interview with Mark Chesler, of the University of Michigan. He would agree with Vasquez and Wainstein's conclusion that "many minority students fail in school not because they are culturally different but because faculty members are unprepared to recognize their cultural distinctiveness as strengths" (1999: 145). He criticizes the *deficient minority model,* which is the way in which the question of how to teach students of color is usually framed. His comments form the basis for this volume: that students, no matter what their backgrounds, need to feel safe in the classroom to take the risks necessary for learning. There is a subtle but real difference between saying that students need to feel *comfortable* and saying, as Chesler and others do, that students need to feel *included* and *safe*. Chesler makes the point that the process of creating classroom climates that facilitate learning requires teachers to make substantial changes. He is not surprised, therefore, that we have made little progress. To create effective learning in the classroom, faculty must examine their role in the dynamics of the classroom, reassessing the fundamental power relationships between teachers and students.

Chesler discusses these points further in a separate chapter that follows the short interview. As he states there, "This review of some of the cultural and structural constraints on (and opportunities for) teaching well in the modern research-oriented university sets the context for a discussion of diverse classrooms and the possibilities for approaching multiculturalism." Chesler points out that we, the faculty and the institutions of higher education, may be the deficient ones. He identifies several reasons why it is difficult to teach well in research universities, in particular, (1) the low priority given undergraduate education, (2) faculty commitment to the discipline at the expense of undergraduate education at the local institution, (3) norms of objectivity, (4) lack of preparation for teaching, and (5) lack of community. He concludes that transforming our teaching is a long and difficult process that can be made easier by working collaboratively with our students and colleagues.

The next piece in Part One is an interview with a second senior scholar, Walter Allen, of the University of California-Los Angeles; it includes a selective annotated bibliography that emphasizes sources of extensive, supplemental reviews of the published literature about theory, research, practices, and policies enhancing academic success among students of color. In the interview, Allen discusses his research, focusing explicitly on the challenges students of color face. As he remarks in the interview:

> Climates [in college classrooms] continue to be generally hostile in terms of race and in terms of gender toward the groups that are not at the center. Another way of putting it is that the campuses privilege whiteness, they privilege maleness, they privilege middle-class background. This privileging is structural in terms of the kinds of general characteristics, e.g., background traits and expectations, that are there. But also the privileging plays out in terms of interpersonal interactions in those environments. Stereotyped students are granted differential access to opportunity.

His comments echo those of Feagin, Vera, and Imani (1996) and Scisney-Matlock and Matlock (2001). He explains the importance of looking at historical factors, institutional patterns, campus climate, attitudes on campus, and interpersonal interactions as well as the academic consequences of these factors. Both Chesler and Allen point to the culture of the discipline itself as problematic as well as to the need to link the classroom with larger institutional practices. Allen's conclusion, similar to that of Chesler, is that to succeed, students of color need to feel included in the classroom, department, and institution.

This first part sets the stage for the essays that follow by laying out some of the critical questions we must consider. Importantly, the pieces reveal ways in which the definition of the issues themselves can perpetuate the exclusion of students of color. In their chapter in Part Three, Mona Taylor Phillips and Kysha Doss (Spelman College) follow up on this insight by asking, "Is it possible for the discipline to think about the alienation that might result from the very language used in its efforts to include 'others'?" This problem is one that the editors of this volume have encountered as we have struggled to name the issue we are addressing without slipping into language that suggests that students of color are deficient and in need of special help. We have struggled with how to talk about these issues without unintentionally reinforcing stereotypes about students of color, who they are, or how they learn.

Phillips and Doss elaborate further on our concern when they observe that "one of the risks in sharing research findings about black students is the possibility of somehow reproducing existing stereotypes about them." As described by Walzer (2001), a white undergraduate studying diversity on a predominantly white campus alludes to this same concern:

> I began to believe that in an effort to be eternally sensitive to students of color, I was seeing examples of segregation and isolation that did not really exist. At the same time that thought was forming

> however, I was experiencing guilt at having doubted the validity of such experiences (whether real or imaginary in my observation) in any capacity. Essentially, I was expecting to find evidence of racial segregation . . . and yet I was doubtful when I found exactly what I thought I was looking for. (91)

This undergraduate's comments underscore the importance of the problem we mentioned earlier in this introductory chapter concerning how faculty talk about race in their classrooms. The solution is not to ignore or avoid the issue of race in the classroom; instead, it is to introduce students to a more sophisticated sociological understanding of the production and reproduction of racial differences (c.f. Arnold 1995; Fritschner 2001; Hunter and Nettles 1999).

Part Two focuses on departmental and institutional contexts, beginning with two chapters describing the American Sociological Association's MOST program. Carla Howery and Felice Levine outline the history and structure of MOST and profile its effectiveness. Edward Kain (Southwestern University) discusses the experience of being a host institution for MOST. Both MOST chapters discuss efforts to achieve the five goals of MOST: curriculum, mentoring, pipeline, climate, and research training. Both at the disciplinary level (Howery and Levine) and at the department level (Kain), the MOST program has been effective in facilitating the success of its participants. These two chapters focus not just on what is taught in departments but also on how sociology is taught. They provide examples of strategies for enacting the relationships between diversity and teaching in sociology. The MOST program makes the connection between diversity and excellence and between attention and intention. It shifts the focus from enrichment of individual students of color to systemic change in departments and the discipline as a whole.

Berheide's chapter in this part discusses her institution's enrichment program for students of color, the Educational Leadership Corps (ELC), a program designed to help students of color succeed in the existing system of higher education. In many ways, the ELC parallels the MOST program, not surprisingly given that it shares MOST's mentoring, pipeline, and research training goals. The ELC enriches the preparation of students of color in four areas: research, teaching, professional development, and college and community service. Central to the success of the program is developing an effective faculty-student mentoring relationship. Berheide reports positive outcomes not only for students but also for faculty. Although it emphasizes helping students of color succeed, the ELC program itself does involve a change in the behavior of individual faculty as well as in the structure of the college as a whole.

Colleges and universities support faculty development initiatives as vehicles for fostering change. In their chapter, Mary Wright and Julica Hermann (University of Michigan) describe one such program, a faculty development workshop designed to prepare graduate students to teach sociology to diverse populations.

The techniques that they discuss can be used equally well by experienced faculty. Building on Marchesani and Adams (1992), they present a three-dimensional model of multicultural teaching and learning. They remind us that to bring a sociological perspective to bear on our own teaching, we need to ask not only who our students are, who we as faculty are, what the content of our courses is, and what the appropriate pedagogies are but also what our institutional context is. That very point has led the editors of this volume to solicit contributions from sociologists teaching in a wide range of different institutional contexts, including public and private, urban and rural, coeducational and women only, two-year, four-year, and graduate-degree granting, as well as predominantly white, multiracial, and historically black.

Part Three contains case studies describing working with students of color in different sociology courses at a wide variety of schools. These chapters range from overviews of departmental initiatives to specific courses to particular pedagogical approaches. By detailing what they have done at their various institutions, Osirim, Phillips and Doss, Bucher, and Myers-Lipton provide concrete examples linking sociological theory and research to pedagogical practice.

Mary Johnson Osirim (Bryn Mawr College) argues that uniting theory and praxis in a small liberal arts college for women leads to success for all students but especially for students of color. She finds that having students "doing sociology" creates a sense of empowerment and self-esteem that propels them toward success. Involving students in actively "doing sociology" is one of the recommendations of the report of the ASA task force on study in depth in sociology, *Liberal Learning and the Sociology Major* (Eberts et al. 1990). Like Berheide, Osirim provides examples of what one faculty member can do to enhance the educational experiences of individual students of color. As an illustration of her approach, Osirim contributes a syllabus and assignments from her introductory-level gateway course for the sociology major, U.S. Social Structure, to Parts Four and Five, respectively, of this volume.

Providing a good illustration of the faculty-student collaboration championed by Osirim, Phillips and Doss discuss the creation of a "living, breathing sociology" that students can "claim as their own" in a sociological theory course at a historically black women's college. Collaboratively written from the perspectives of instructor (Phillips) and student (Doss), this chapter addresses the dilemma of how to make "room for the voices of the students in a theory course when there is so much theory to be learned." As Phillips reports:

> Students were very clear about the kind of classroom environment that would best facilitate their development as social theorists. They suggested that less emphasis on learning names of sociologists and more emphasis on *ideas* and the sociohistorical contexts out of which those ideas emerged were very helpful. . . . The women also expressed an intellectual need for a classroom community in which they could converse freely. However, the fear that

> what they had to say either did not directly apply to the material or was too personal to speak about in the classroom kept them silent and distant from theory.

As faculty, we must overcome this silence by engaging our students in the major theoretical debates of our discipline.

Phillips and Doss raise another problem, a subtler one, that sociologists face as they deal with issues of race in the classroom. They warn sociology faculty against perceiving students of color:

> . . . as being comfortable only talking about their own lives and that (unlike, of course, other students) they are afraid to venture out of their own "narrow" worlds (unlike, of course, the not-so-narrow worlds of other students). When these women students talk about the power of the familiar in moving through — and owning — their sociology majors, however, they do not mean that they are comfortable only within their own experiences. They are not arguing for a classroom in which they study only what they already "know." The familiar is not "personal experience."

Phillips and Doss describe a struggle that many students, not just students of color, have in making sense out of sociological theory as well as in applying it to contemporary social issues. How do we make tough material, such as social theory, familiar? Phillips contributes a syllabus and assignments to Parts Four and Five, respectively, to get at the issue of reframing social theory, one of the most difficult classes typically required for the sociology major, so that students will engage the course content more successfully. Phillips and Doss challenge sociologists to create a relationship between our students and our subject matter, an issue Bucher raises in the next chapter, as well.

Bucher (Baltimore City Community College) has conducted focus groups with students who have taken introductory sociology, the gateway course for the sociology major. Picking up on a theme raised in Berheide's chapter, he reports that students of color repeatedly mention the issue of relationships with faculty as well as peers as the factor that contributed to their success in sociology classes. He urges sociology faculty:

> . . . to look critically at ourselves and challenge ourselves, individually and collectively. For example, do we consider ourselves part of the network of helpers that promote student success? How does what we teach and how we teach strengthen the myriad of relationships that promote the success of all students? What are we doing to develop our diversity consciousness both in and out of the classroom?

Bucher remarks that it is easy to ignore differences in the classroom. It is much harder to be analytical about our teaching and students' learning.

Bucher observes that learning sociology is both an affective and a cognitive process. The students Bucher interviewed indicate that both pedagogy and content matter. For example, he cites one student who attributes her success to the fact that her sociology instructor made her feel included and proud. He concludes that "efforts to promote student success, at least at the community college level, need to focus on relationships among students, teachers, and the subject matter." Although Bucher refers to community college students, his conclusion probably applies equally well at four-year schools.

Bucher's research makes a crucial contribution because it examines a community college environment, a growing venue for higher education. According to Choy (2002: 8), 42 percent of undergraduates in 1999-2000 studied at community colleges. Students of color, especially, are more likely to attend local community colleges than other types of schools (National Center for Education Statistics 2001). For example, "in 1996, more than half of Hispanic students attending college were enrolled in two-year institutions, in contrast to 37 percent of white students" (Tienda and Simonelli 2001: B13). Bucher argues that faculty teaching in community colleges, and perhaps by extension those teaching at four-year commuter campuses also, need to consider the communities in which their students live and work each day as they design their courses. Course requirements need to take into account students' family and job responsibilities (Nelson 1996).

Scott Myers-Lipton (San Jose State University) argues that service-learning can engage students of color with course material in ways that more-traditional pedagogies cannot. His piece goes beyond asking whether service-learning is an effective teaching method generally to asking whether it is effective for students of color. Parts Four and Five include syllabi and assignments that Myers-Lipton has contributed from his Social Problems and internship courses as examples of how to incorporate service-learning into the sociology classroom. He provides a cautionary tale, one suggesting that if faculty are not careful, sociology courses in general and service-learning in particular have the potential to disempower students of color. For example, one of his students commented:

> I have always had an interest in sociology. The class has actually made me second-guess myself on whether or not I want to major in it. The many problems in society encourage me to do better, but it also saddens me. Learning about all the inequality angers me and affects me [so] that I'm questioning whether this is something I really want to get into. I think maybe it's because of my negative life experiences, and no matter what I do to make things better, there still seems to be no type of change.

Myers-Lipton warns that sociologists "must be prepared to deal with this type of frustration, particularly with students of color who have encountered some of the negative life experiences that they are observing at their service-learning site." This problem is related to the one we mentioned earlier: that students of color can find it painful to study racial inequality because the subject hits too close to home.

In addition, the service-learning literature expresses a concern about whether service-learning can actually reinforce stereotypes that majority students have of "others," including not only people of color but also the poor, mentally ill, etc. Students of color may feel even more excluded in a classroom where majority students are talking about the people at their service-learning sites as though they were visiting the zoo or doing their good deed for the day. Thus, we return to the point with which we began: how we talk about race in the classroom matters. How students of various racial/ethnic backgrounds talk to one another about race matters. As faculty, we must create classrooms where students, whatever their race or ethnicity, feel free to join in the conversation no matter how controversial or emotionally charged the topic.

One theme, then, cuts across all the pieces in this volume: that students of color need to feel integrated into their college communities both academically and socially. To feel included, as the chapters in this book clearly show, students of color need supportive relationships with faculty and peers as well as curriculum and pedagogy that reflect their identities and that they see as relevant to their lives as citizens and as scholars. A related theme that the contributors convey is that the process of including diverse groups of students in sociology classes is neither simple nor easy nor quick. It takes sustained effort; it is a life's work, according to Chesler. Sometimes those efforts become institutionalized in programs, such as the ELC or a faculty development workshop; in other cases they are part and parcel of the ongoing work faculty do individually to improve their teaching. This book provides a resource for sociologists working alone or in concert with the members of their departments or interested administrators to create a climate conducive to learning for all our students.

Phillips and Doss conclude that successfully meeting the challenge of teaching sociology to our increasingly diverse student population will produce a series of broader positive outcomes:

> As sociology majors go into other professions and graduate programs, maybe they will enrich those areas of study with the analytical and theoretical gifts sociology has to offer. Maybe, just maybe, another outcome may be more professional sociologists of color. Who knows? As a consequence of that increased number, *the discipline* of sociology may increase its representation of voices, experiences, and ways of knowing.

They are suggesting, then, that by improving how we teach students of color today, we may achieve a goal mentioned earlier — increasing the number of faculty of color teaching and publishing in sociology and thereby enlarging the knowledge base of the discipline as a whole.

We hope readers find this volume useful. We expect that individual faculty will discover that many of the chapters in this volume have immediate relevance for their everyday professional lives. Department chairs, academic administrators, and disciplinary leaders may also find some of these chapters thought-provoking for the same reasons. To get a broad overview of how students of color feel in our classes, read the Chesler and Allen interviews, in particular. To hear in their own voices how students of color feel in sociology classes, read the Chesler, Phillips and Doss, Bucher, and Myers-Lipton chapters. To get some suggestions for what to do in specific classes, such as a gateway course like Social Problems, read Part Three. To find sample syllabi and assignments to use as models, see Parts Four and Five, respectively. To get ideas for transforming curriculum, pedagogy, and even departments, read Part Two. Regardless of how this volume is used, we hope that its legacy will be improvement in the state of higher education, especially in sociology.

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Part One

Creating a Climate for Diversity in the Discipline

(Re)Framing the Issues — Changing Pedagogy, Not Students

A Conversation With Mark Chesler

Jeffrey Chin

Mark Chesler is professor of sociology at the University of Michigan, where he has been on the faculty since 1967. His Ph.D. is from the joint social psychology program at Michigan, and he is a former director of the undergraduate program in sociology. He is a project director at the Center for Research on Social Organization at Michigan. He has published more than 200 articles and books, many in the area of social change, with an emphasis on race and gender equity and organizations, especially in higher education. He is a teacher, researcher, consultant, and change agent who describes himself as an activist-scholar, learning as much in his involvement in the application of research to human public affairs and agencies, or his advocacy role, as he does from the construction of scientific research.

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Chin: Let me get you to talk a little bit about some of your research and thinking that's pertinent to the question for this volume. First, what kinds of things can we do that help students of color succeed in colleges and universities, particularly in sociology classes? Second, what kinds of things do we need to do to change the institution?

Chesler: It's the construction of that first question that is difficult for me. Is that really where the problem is — with the performance of students of color? I don't deny that's a relevant and important concern, but for me the way in, the critical question, is how can we reform the academy that produces and sustains problems for these young people? The original formulation almost leads one to try to prescribe options for an ailing population, to help the victims of a discriminatory educational system, and to think in terms of a deficit model. If, as you suggest, people from different cultural and class backgrounds may have different learning styles,

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In the essay that follows this interview, Chesler describes more fully the necessary ingredients for effective multicultural teaching and learning and the changes necessary to support faculty development in this area. (The essay in Part Two of this volume by Mary Wright and Julica Hermann provides one model for faculty development.)

then we ought to use more plural pedagogies to respond to this range. I don't think this is a wrong approach, but it's not the way I primarily think about things.

For me, the primary focus needs to be on the structure of the discipline, the culture of the academy, and the sets of skills of the faculty, not the competencies of students. Of course, student competencies matter, but our job in a plural society is to be successful with students of varied styles and competencies. There's a lot that needs to be changed about the culture and structure of higher education organizations to promote more successful teaching in diverse settings — the reward structure that gives teaching a low rating, our orientation toward students and the learning process, the culture of academic expertise, and so on.

All students need a safe environment in which to risk learning. I don't think learning is easy. I mean, sitting in a classroom and listening to what a faculty member says and feeding it back on an exam is easy, but that's not learning. Maybe it's not teaching either. That's just processing information and feeding it back. Real learning is risky. It requires learners to identify what they wish or need to know, to acknowledge areas of ignorance, and to say, "I care about this material enough to learn it." It involves being open about one's passion as well as one's struggle. For that to happen for anyone, the classroom environment has to be a safe place in which to do this work. Safety means the classroom environment must be free of faculty members who so cherish their expertise that they see little wisdom in students, who exert control in ways that humiliate students or render them passive learners. It also means the classroom has to be safe in terms of students' being able to deal respectfully with one another. If students are going to be more open to one another in a learning venture, then people have to be careful and concerned about, as well as honest with, one another. And that's where the dynamic of race (and class and gender) becomes potent. Students of color often find our contemporary classrooms less safe environments than do white students, because white students generally are not very accepting and respecting of students of color. To the extent that faculty don't know how to touch the lived experience of students of color as much as they know how to touch the lived experience of white students like themselves, the classroom is a less safe and accepting environment for students of color. To the extent that faculty do not challenge white students' conscious or unconscious sense of privilege, their direct or subtle exclusionary, ignorant, or discriminatory behavior, the classroom is not a safe place. An unsafe environment is not a good learning environment — for anyone. Now that's a frame for thinking about student performance that I do find fruitful.

For students to really engage academic material, it must be material that touches their lives and is of interest to them. If we insist on teaching abstract concepts and dates and information, as contrasted with teaching students about themselves and the world in which they live, we faculty are not going to touch students' realities. To the extent that we are primarily a white and male and middle-class faculty, students who are of color and female and from working-class and poorer backgrounds are likely to find much of the material we want to teach, and the abstract way we wish to teach it, irrelevant. That's a second principle. The classroom has to be not only a safe environment but also a relevant environment. Things we want to teach them have to be relevant to their lives, taught by people who are willing and able to engage them and their lives directly and intimately. That's one reason I think we get much, much more participation by women and by students of color in community service-learning programs across the country and much less participation in those programs by men and by white students; such programs promise intimate connection with the real-life struggles of (usually) oppressed community members and use that starting point as a springboard for academic reading and discussion.

And how about the rewards and accountability processes for teaching? At the present time, we seldom seriously measure teaching competency. The best we do is use student evaluations of faculty. One of reasons I think we use them (aside from the appearance of being interested in 'consumer satisfaction') is that we know those aren't good measures, and we don't really believe young learners can evaluate professional teachers and scholars. So we can get them and scoff at them at the same time. If we really developed a good instrument, I am not sure we would use it. Better to have a bad instrument where we look at the results and say, "Well, we know these scores don't mean much." Then we've got both the front door and back door open, and no one is watching the store.

Chin: For a number of years, I think that one of the strategies for how to address the insensitivity of predominantly white male middle-class faculty has been diversity training. Where does that fit in do you think? Do you think that is effective at all?

Chesler: It's a mixed story, but in many cases it's effective — for those faculty voluntarily interested in learning and changing. But one also has to look at the larger organizational context in which teaching takes place; that's where change must occur. The contemporary research-graduate–oriented universities have a low priority on undergraduate education, a high commitment to disciplinary loyalty; we teach out of a scientific mode of detachment and have a minimal sense of a community as teachers. That's the structural and cultural context within which individual faculty members' attitudes and/or skills are set. We can do all we want to around diversity training, but that's like doing individual change work when the core problem is organizational (or even societal) in nature. Nevertheless, it's important work, because if we do it well, we might improve the quality of instruction and help people develop alternative pedagogies. In the context of higher education, diversity training is not only about self- and other-awareness; it's also about pedagogical skills. Just as in industry, it's not just about race and gender awareness; it's also about managerial competencies and behaviors. Good training work might increase our sensitivities to and therefore our successes with students who are different from us. I have conducted some diversity awareness and pedagogical development programs around diversity, and I think it makes somewhat of a difference, but the issue is more so to alter the culture and structure of the academy. Fundamentally, we need to focus less on adapting to diversity and more on seeking intergroup justice and a higher-quality educational environment and the changes that requires — inside and outside the academy.

Chin: Let's talk about that piece then for a little while. What kinds of structural changes would make it a place where all students, but in particular students of color, would be more successful?

Chesler: Well, I don't know if it helps to discuss generic structural changes, because so much differs by the nature of the local institutional setting and resources, including the will to change. But I think I know what some of the major contributors are to the problems of teaching well in an increasingly diverse, multicultural context:

1. a generally low priority on undergraduate education, especially in research-oriented universities;
2. a professorial priority on disciplinary loyalty rather than university loyalty, which means that we're oriented outward to our discipline more than to our own local community environment and students;
3. the scientific modes of detachment and objectivity, which when translated into the classroom suggest we shouldn't become intimately involved with students and should treat them all the same. We're much more concerned with giving tests that can be standardized than we are with really assessing what the individual student understands;
4. a general lack of preparation for teaching, which is reflected in the graduate curriculum and faculty reward structure and norms about the best ways to spend one's time;
5. a lack of community among members of departments or colleges, especially regarding issues of teaching and pedagogy;
6. remnants of race/gender/class privilege, organized into institutional mechanisms that treat people of color differently (sometimes by omission and sometimes by commission) and often blind us to their true needs.

These are the issues we must deal with if we are to make a difference in the education of all our students, but especially for those most vulnerable students whose cultures and backgrounds are least like the culture and style of the contemporary university. Those students are more vulnerable to all these dehumanizing issues, I think.

Chin: What are the important research issues on this agenda?

Chesler: One is that we need better data on how to identify the problems and make the kinds of structural and cultural changes I have been discussing. I also think we need to do more research on the lives of faculty members, especially with regard to these issues of diversity and multiculturalism. What are the experiences of faculty members who are trying to teach in this area? With a faculty colleague and several graduate students at Michigan, we have begun to do interviews with a diverse set of faculty members, asking them how they approach racial and gender issues in a diverse classroom. What are their hot buttons? What are the things that frighten them about it? What are the tactics that they use? How is this different for faculty of color and white faculty, for women and for men? There's quite a bit of research now on students and especially on students of color. There is some, but less, research on white students' views of race on campus. And there's very little on faculty members, especially the white and male faculty. I don't think we'll get very far on the puzzle we're trying to unravel unless we understand more about the faculty and how even the issues I just identified really do take shape in faculty members' lives and in what they do in the classroom.

Just to come full circle, that identifies where we started. Instead of framing the issue and asking questions primarily about how to promote success among students of color, we focus on how to increase the ability of faculty to teach in diverse classrooms — and what structural and cultural changes in the academy are required to support such faculty growth.

Effective Multicultural Teaching in Research Universities

Mark Chesler

Issues of diversity and multiculturalism in higher education surface and take shape in many different environs — in dormitories, fraternities and sororities, public meetings, athletic events, classrooms, libraries, informal social interactions and parties, admissions committees, employment/recruitment visits, hiring and promotion and tenure reviews, faculty meetings, staff relations, and administrative policy sessions. In this essay, I address some of the issues involved in classroom teaching and in teaching/learning interactions that occur and/or should occur in diverse and multicultural environments. My hope is to explore those issues that may have major impact on the possibilities for academic success of students of color as well as white students and for a more enlightened citizenry of all students. I also suggest some action we as faculty might take to improve the current situation.

Any examination of the classroom as a site for teaching and learning must keep the culture and structure of the modern college or university fully in view. Unless we understand, account for, and address the larger organizational context, we will not be able to make much progress in the classroom. Moreover, unless there is accompanying institutional change, whatever progress we do make in the isolated classroom will be no more than temporary. It probably also is true that even well-supported innovations on a university-wide level cannot be sustained unless there are parallel and supportive changes in the character of intergroup relations and resources in the society at large, but that is a matter for another essay.

I write this piece from my standpoint as an older, politically progressive, heterosexual, white, male senior faculty member in sociology at a large, prestigious, research-oriented university. The issues I raise stem from my experience as a classroom teacher, a consultant with faculty and organizations dealing with issues of racism and sexism, and a scholar and citizen concerned about various forms of group inequality, inequity, and change. My intent is to examine the meanings of

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multicultural teaching for faculty and to identify some of the issues that must be faced if this is to be done well in the research university setting. Although I am a social scientist and issues of race and racism often are part of my field's overt content, work on these issues is not just a matter for sociology or the social sciences; it is relevant for all classes. Sociology probably has a special burden and opportunity in this arena, partly because of our discipline's overt focus on racism, inequality, and stratification, partly because proportionately more students of color take our classes than in other disciplines, and partly because students of color and their white fellow students expect sociology to address these issues. Primarily for reasons of space, as well as current public attention, I emphasize issues related to race, racism, and race relations, but I refer throughout to other dimensions of diversity and intergroup relations, as well.

The focus on multicultural teaching draws our attention to the need for diversity in the classroom as a start. But that is not sufficient:[1] In fact, one of the important distinctions between *diversity* and *multiculturalism* is that the former term usually addresses issues of *representation/membership and sensitivity to or celebrations of difference*, while the latter term draws additional attention to issues of *power and justice in the relations among social groups and the distribution of educational outcomes* (in this case, both academic and social or civic learning). Carby (1992) also notes that multiculturalism is more than a matter of identity and difference; it is also a matter of relations of power and domination.

I argue that effective multicultural teaching requires us to (1) promote significant (not necessarily the same) learning outcomes for various students and groups of students; (2) construct a classroom learning environment that recognizes, respects, and is responsive to the needs and styles of diverse student populations; (3) not privilege certain groups above others — in curriculum, materials, seating patterns, assignments, grading systems, interpersonal and intergroup relations, and relationships with the faculty; (4) consciously and proactively seek to ameliorate if not overcome the cultural stereotypes and baggage that most of us (students and faculty) bring to the classroom; and (5) alter the typical power dynamics inside and outside the classroom that generally locate most social space (airtime, access, participation) and most assumptions of competence in white and male and upper-middle-class students. One crucial aspect of this task, as Reed (1996) and Bell et al. (1997) emphasize, is the need for faculty to attend to the ways in which our own and our students' race, ethnicity, gender, class, and sexual orientation may shape classroom behavior and to develop instructional strategies that are responsive to these dynamics.

None of this is easy to accomplish in the current national educational environment, where the defense of white and male privilege is seen in efforts to eliminate affirmative action, to develop universalistic approaches to "treating all students the same," and to reassert professorial authority against the imagined inroads of "interactive education" (Stunkel 1998). Nor is it easy in an educational system largely entrusted by the larger society to maintain and reproduce structures of privilege and power. These race, class, gender, and sexual strata are sustained by selection, sorting, and grading procedures, even while new entry opportunities are provided for some members of disadvantaged groups. The disjunctions and contradictions between these institutional objectives of increasing opportunity and maintaining privilege, of inclusiveness and exclusiveness, set the stage on which issues of diversity and multiculturalism are played out.

If we can make progress on these issues, we will make the educational environment more successful for all students, including those many white and privileged students who may test well but are barely touched by much current classroom content and methods. The troubled state of our higher education enterprise makes multicultural education more difficult to achieve, but effective multicultural education is one way to transform the troubled nature of these institutions.

Multicultural education can especially promote the success of students of color, those students generally most disadvantaged by the racial structures of our society and educational institutions. But I emphasize that effective multicultural education is not simply of value for nonwhite, nonmale, or other "different" or "minority" students; it is beneficial for any and all students of privileged groups, as well. As Feagin, Vera, and Imani note, "The changes multiculturalism can bring are especially important for whites whose age-old prejudices about people of color and fictions about the white self handicap them in dealing with other people around the globe" (1996: 171). These same prejudices raise campus tension and deprive white students, as well as students of color, of the intellectual and civic benefits of peer exchange and learning.

The Problems of Teaching (Anything) Well in Modern Research-Oriented Universities

To set the stage for a discussion of effective multicultural teaching, I first address some of the realities of any sort of teaching in modern research-oriented universities. Different systems of higher education have different missions, operating structures, cultures, and resources, and these contextual and organizational factors affect all of campus life, including the shape of support for and resistance to multiculturalism. In the case of research-oriented universities in particular, the generally low level of attention to undergraduate education, the structural and cultural by-products of research priorities, and the nature of the academic community are important contextual considerations.

Because there is much about universities and faculties that I am critical about in this essay, let me make one position clear at the outset. Almost every faculty member I know cares about teaching and tries hard to be an effective teacher. Most of us hurt when we get the message (academic failure, students' disrespect, lack of sign-ups for classes, low student evaluations, rumors and gossip floating in hallways, grievances) that we are not being effective. We cover this hurt in a variety of ways: denying concern, retreating from the undergraduate classroom, blaming students for a lack of interest or skill or appreciation of our efforts, etc. We also, less often I fear, ask colleagues for help, seek the advice of faculty development experts, or invest in renewal and relearning of our craft.

Some students of course are not interested in academic learning or in exploring their social world; some come to college primarily for social and recreational purposes or to gain the ticket to future employment opportunities. Others may not be interested in what we sociologists have to say or do not connect to our point of view. These young people are hard to reach and teach under any circumstances. But most students, especially at our quite selective research-oriented institutions, are interested in intellectual inquiry and discourse, do care about meeting others and expanding their social horizons, and can be reached by invitations to comprehend (and perhaps alter) the society in which we live. This is especially likely in the social science disciplines, such as sociology, where our very content draws students into examination of themselves and their society. Unfortunately, the structures and cultures within which we operate and our self-imposed constraints often mitigate against both faculty and students' best intentions and the possibility of good work.

A LOW PRIORITY FOR UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION

Large research-oriented universities and their stellar departments gain their reputations and enhance their own sense of stardom through the activities of research scholars and the production of research. These scholars, especially the senior research faculty, enhance and enrich the intellectual environment of the university and often are beacons of light and stimulus for interested and committed students. But not all these senior scholars are interested in undergraduate education or are effective undergraduate classroom teachers. Some buy out of teaching responsibilities through research grants or scholarly fellowships. Few teach introductory undergraduate classes. The oft-touted link between research excellence and undergraduate teaching excellence is an unproved item of faith and is primarily argued as a way to ignore some of these institutional contradictions. Despite debates about the comparative bases of research, teaching, and service in the reward structure of higher education institutions and despite some recent evidence of change, the traditional emphasis on research productivity is still the primary basis for scholarly evaluation, promotion and tenure, and merit increases in these institutions. As many more innovations in undergraduate education are being championed, the balance among these factors is shifting somewhat and special prizes often are awarded for outstanding teaching, but the research faculty's priorities and the related reward system have not seriously changed.

In modern research-oriented universities, faculty who advance via the research scholarship route primarily are sensitive to graduate education as the path to developing new generations of scholars (Boyer 1990). But undergraduate teaching is not a high priority, except when we identify and seek to engage certain students who appear to be outstanding candidates for graduate study. The assertion that undergraduate education is of low priority is old and perhaps by now hackneyed, but is there any reasonable doubt regarding its continuing validity? Indeed, a recent report from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1998) restates this issue in emphatic terms. Even in the face of consumer dissatisfaction (expressed by undergraduate students, by their parents, and by prospective students who elect not to go to these centers of research excellence), the research-oriented faculty's order of priorities is clear. The growth of public attention to these issues (even in state legislative halls) certainly has led to a number of important and exciting innovations in undergraduate education (e.g., living-learning communities, undergraduate research internships, first-year seminars, residential colleges, honors studies, community service-learning programs, intergroup relations programs), but it has not altered the faculty culture or the infrastructure of rewards and incentives. Nor has it altered the collegiate priorities that create a tremendous reliance on large lecture classes of 100 to 300 or more students packed into rows of seats, listening in 50-minute or more segments to a substantive expert deliver material impersonally and at a distance (perhaps not even physically present but beamed in by video).

Administrators, more vulnerable and perhaps more sensitive to the public's concerns, seem more tuned to the needs of innovation in undergraduate education, at least rhetorically. Of course, the relation between such rhetoric and actual administrative efforts to alter the faculty and organizational structures and cultures that sustain these priorities is another matter.

DISCIPLINARY LOYALTY AND COMMITMENT

The institutional focus on research emphasizes and is supported by loyalty and commitment, as well as intellectual framing, to separate disciplines (perhaps even to subdisciplines) and thus to a fragmentation of knowledge (Clark 1983). Although this approach may (or may not!) advance scientific progress, it often bedevils undergraduate students seeking to understand themselves and their world in a holistic manner. It also draws faculty members' attention away from the climate and culture of the larger university, orienting them more powerfully to their disciplinary departments, research programs, and national disciplinary associations.

Even when faculty and academic departments do turn their attention to undergraduate education, our concern usually is focused primarily on academic matters and classroom activities. The current popularity of service-learning programs is an important countertrend, but it is noteworthy that the major impetus for the dramatic expansion of this curricular pedagogical option came from the broader polity outside the academy. We faculty seldom attend to the developmental needs of young people from diverse backgrounds and the general student culture or campus community in a serious way: These matters are seen as the purview and responsibility of deans, student activity specialists, housing departments, and perhaps the campus security forces. In particular, intergroup relations problems on campus may be seen as a nuisance or moral blot but generally not as a matter deserving serious academic or classroom attention.

The broader problems and concerns of the undergraduate student community (e.g., safety, access to popular courses, campus climate, alcohol abuse, postcollegiate careers, social rules) also seldom draw faculty attention, and students' expressed needs or desires (as opposed to the faculty's goals for students' academic learning) seldom are considered as the basis for curriculum (re)design. Our separation of the academic curriculum from the daily lives of students reflects a limited view of educational and citizenship goals. This separation obviously fails to engage or alter those collegiate or community environments that are oppressive to women, students of color, ethnic minorities, etc. I find this disciplinarily influenced distance from both general student concerns and the specific campus issues of intergroup relations striking in my own discipline, where I would expect sociologists to be studying if not altering the racial climate of their institution and the social dynamics of their educational environment. Perhaps this is another reflection of elite departments' concentration on academic rather than applied research foci and methods.

SCIENTIFIC STANCES OF DISTANCE AND DETACHMENT

In a similar manner, scholars pursuing traditional research strategies of distance and detachment often carry that culture into their view of teaching as a craft and their relations with students, in and out of the classroom. The result is that some of us (or many of us some of the time) don't see or treat students as whole people and often buffer ourselves from intimate engagement with them. As these norms pervade the teaching culture, they subtly devalue in-depth encounters, subjective experience, local or indigenous knowledge, and sometimes common sense (Boyte 2000). Of course, it is our very business to use science to expand upon or challenge commonsense interpretations of the world, but to do this effectively requires a strategy of compassionate engagement with students rather than depersonalized distance. This is a difficult dance, one made more difficult by the time and energy priorities of a research-oriented career in the midst of demands for undergraduate teaching.

A LACK OF PREPARATION AND ATTENTION TO TEACHING

Most faculty have never been taught about teaching as a skill or an art; we typically learned how to teach as apprentices to senior scholars or as a condition of economic survival while graduate students. Moreover, as noted earlier, faculty in research universities generally operate within disciplinarily distinctive academic departments, where specialization of knowledge augers against a holistic view of the world of our students. The resultant professional academic culture assumes a level of teaching competence on the basis of outstanding substantive (disciplinary) knowledge. Indeed, it often is argued within academic departments that substantive expertise is not simply the most important factor in classroom competence: It may be the *only* important factor. As a result, we do not anticipate that well-credentialed senior scholars will produce or be held accountable for inadequate teaching performances or skill gaps and do not generally prepare for or deal with it — proactively or reactively. When poor performance occurs within a culture that does not expect it and within a structure of faculty power, students generally are seen as the primary culprits (as in "victim blaming" that asserts incompetent, lazy, or uninterested students). Under these circumstances, it is difficult for any faculty member — junior or senior — to ask for help: The admission of problems represents considerable deviance and may be tantamount to announcing substantive gaps, professional inadequacy, and personal failure. The result is a culture of silence about teaching, a lack of comfort in talking about what we do (and do not do) in the classroom, and the creation of what Massey, Wilger, and Colbeck have referred to as the "hollowed halls of academe" (1994). Several notable exceptions to this tradition in sociological circles are the consistently high quality of articles devoted to race and multiculturalism in *Teaching Sociology*, the growth of (and American Sociological Association support for) training programs and courses for new teaching assistants, and the extraordinary volume by Pescosolido and Aminzade (1999, especially the field guide).

On the one hand, most teaching acts are produced in the hope that they will affect student learning. On the other hand, we often divorce the acts of faculty teaching and student learning from each other, seldom examining or planning teaching approaches on the basis of a sound theory (let alone a social theory) of young adult learning. At times, faculty do discuss the nature of the current student generation (usually in disparaging terms) and do share teaching syllabi and tips. However, in 30 years of membership in a research-oriented sociology department, I do not think I have ever heard a formal, department-wide discussion of either the natures of young adult learning or the teaching approaches and classroom environments that would best fit with such theories.

Teaching and learning with young adults ultimately are intimate acts requiring human connection. To work best, they need to occur in a safe environment, one with generally shared (not imposed) interests and norms. Conversations or even debates about such matters that might be the meat of faculty research in a school of education or of staff planning in student services offices are seen as non-intellectual work, coddling, or simply wanting to make students feel good; in highly rated disciplinary departments, they are perhaps dismissed as low-level technical or pedagogical issues.

A LACK OF COMMUNITY

Tierney and Bensimon suggest that as a result of some of these trends, "the social fabric of the academic community has been torn asunder" (1996: 10). A focus on undergraduate education — and especially multicultural perspectives in undergraduate education — often lays bare the underlying lack of community and civility of discourse within academe. Issues of teaching undergraduates — multiculturally or not — rarely are discussed in faculty settings (although they often are the subject of backroom gossip and complaints). When they are discussed, we generally discover that there is a lack of agreement on the goals of a university education, on the assumptions faculty make about (especially) undergraduates, and thus about the best ways to work with students. Within these "hollowed halls," we seldom engage in open and honest dialogue about our different values and seldom agree about the appropriate measures that might be used to evaluate undergraduate classroom teaching. In fact, efforts to seriously consider and act on students' feedback or evaluations often are sneered at as steps toward abdicating authority or relying on input from "young people who know nothing" to evaluate those of us who have spent years learning something.

The lack of community-wide responsibility for undergraduate education also is reflected in some institutions in the overrepresentation of non-tenure-track faculty, junior faculty, and often women faculty and faculty of color in the instruction of large, introductory lecture classes. This pattern is a partial result of the disciplinary priority on research production (and therefore the buying out or freeing of star research faculty from such odious roles) and partly the natural expression of status (and perhaps race and gender) privilege.

In the midst of these tendencies, faculty who do spend a lot of their time teaching or who are acknowledged by the undergraduate student community as doing it well often are the recipients of sidewise glances from their colleagues, comments about their being "soft" on students ("softness" being seen to guarantee positive student evaluations), and musings about pop intellectualism or "PC-ness." Dissertation-oriented graduate students and new young faculty are socialized into this system of priorities (Freyberg and Ponarin 1993; Tierney and Bensimon 1996) and often are warned not to let their commitments to undergraduate classroom teaching and/or students get in the way of producing research and scholarly articles that will merit promotion and tenure. As Freyberg and Ponarin argue, both structural incentives and the professorial culture "tend to affect [TAs'] self-esteem and professional identification in such a way as to discourage identification with teaching in favor of identification with the research role" (1993: 141).

AS A RESULT

One of the many by-products of this situation is an often uncritical acceptance of a sense of impotence as far as undergraduates and undergraduate education are concerned. In a strangely contradictory manner, we sometimes assert an inability to truly affect students' learning even as we engage in acts of teaching. For instance, we often argue that good Ph.D.'s are primarily the result of recruiting and selecting students with excellent incoming skills (GPAs and GREs) and that a good undergraduate program depends primarily on recruiting and admitting the brightest undergraduates. This stance reflects a narrow and often elitist assumption about the criteria for predicting or assessing student ability or performance and focuses our attention on those students who appear to be most like us, the faculty. It also establishes a priority for assigning responsibility (positive or negative), praise, or blame (e.g., on students' ability or interest — or poor secondary training — rather than on faculty ability or commitment). Clearly, both sets of factors (personal and institutional) are involved. But our behavior generally suggests that student outputs are determined more by their inputs than by our throughputs. We act as if the skills and interests students start with are more important than how we intervene or teach with them. If student learning is more dependent on their skills and preparation than on our teaching, then of course we must recruit the best and the brightest, because we cannot expect to have success with students who are not so skilled. Thus, why bother to intervene or to spend a lot of time planning teaching innovations — especially when the entire teaching enterprise is less highly valued and rewarded than research productivity?

A second major by-product of this situation is the faculty retreat to norms of authoritative (and sometimes, but not always, authoritarian) direction of the teaching/learning process. The logic seems fairly straightforward: If students are not to be trusted to (want to) learn what we (want to) teach and if teachers are not expected to reach out to students and persuade them to learn (what we want to teach), then it is vital to exercise tight control over a potentially apathetic, manipulative, volatile, or resistant (active or passive) situation. These authoritarian norms are the natural outgrowth of generations of higher education's reliance on what Freire (1970) has called the "banking system" of education, where teachers pour knowledge into the heads of more or less passive and obedient students and where the priority is on the absorption of predigested information (data, hypotheses, theories) as transmitted by expert scholars and fed back on demand in exams or papers by passive and obedient students. For Freire, it is important that students be active learners, creators of their own knowledge, through active dialogue with a teacher (co-learner), peers, and action-reflection in real-world situations and events (no wonder service-learning programs have become so popular!). Unfortunately, both students and faculty have been well prepared for a banking style of teaching and learning by prior experience in primary and secondary education systems and by much current university practice. But the banking approach is inherently unsatisfying to both students and faculty, even when it works (i.e., keeps things under control, keeps classrooms operating smoothly, helps students do well on prestructured examinations, lets faculty focused on their research not be bothered by students, lets students avoid intense encounters with faculty, etc.). Freire's notions of a "liberationist system" of education, or its parallels in interactive learning, obviously irritate educators relying on the authority and discipline of the lecture method (Stunkel 1998). It also challenges the corporate culture of universities modeled after a capitalist system that trains students as willing workers.

The Problem of Teaching Well in the Diverse/Multicultural Classroom

This review of some of the cultural and structural constraints on (and opportunities for) teaching well in the modern research-oriented university sets the context for a discussion of diverse classrooms and the possibilities for approaching multiculturalism. All the above factors take on heightened meaning in situations where different cultural styles and conflict over differences are likely to exist. The college years are full of angst and searches for personal and group identity for young adults. In collegiate situations where undergraduates' myriad intellectual and emotional needs are not a systemic priority, where disciplinary priorities result in little attention paid to local realities, where norms of scholarly distance and status hierarchies lead to an unsupportive climate, where faculty often lack the skill to reach and teach populations with different needs and interests, and where the academic community itself is fractured, there is little safe ground. Thus, without intellectual and programmatic structures that provide safe grounding, underlying racism and sexism — and intergroup confusions and conflicts — that are pervasive among young people in this society are likely to erupt in dysfunctional ways or to quietly poison the atmosphere.

Most students come to our colleges and universities from racially and economically separated communities and secondary schools. For many, college is the first environment in which they study and live together on a sustained basis with people of different races, ethnicities, and economic classes — their peers and the faculty and staff. Most of us bring to these encounters in one way or another the racist, classist, sexist, and homophobic baggage that abounds in our culture. When collegiate operations adopt a passive attitude toward patterns of racial and ethnic ideology and interaction, it permits these historical, cultural, and media-generated stereotypes and fears (or hostilities) about differences to persist. Moreover, patterns of separation, distance, and alienation, accompanied by awkwardness, fear, and occasional hostility, reinforce and reproduce invidious attitudes and discriminatory treatment in the collegiate environment. Then the successful performance, safety, and moral sensibilities of all students are threatened.

It is not only in the classroom where such issues arise and must be met. Faculty can play a critical role in the nonacademic environs of the university. Intergroup privilege, disadvantage, and conflict occur in many campus sites, and students learn about their identities and the structures of racism and sexism in the society in dormitories and social events as well as in classes. The external civic community also exerts enormous influence on the climate and events that occur in the university and its classrooms, as well as on what we might do differently on campus or in town-gown relations. Societal resources and policies, including policy/program disputes (regarding legacies of discrimination, protests and mobilizations, funds for higher education, scientific research budgets, lawsuits over admissions, and local preparatory educational systems), provide the set of opportunities and constraints within which university efforts at diversity and multiculturalism take place. Elsewhere, a colleague and I have described some of the ways in which the organization of the university and its departments — their mission, structure, norms, resources — perpetuate racism or may be altered to create a more multicultural educational environment (Chesler and Crowfoot 1991, 1997). Just as legal suits and public debates about affirmative action in higher education affect the larger culture of race relations outside the university, such suits and discourse impact on the internal climate, often permeating classroom and dormitory walls. And as I noted above, students bring their feelings and memories of racial events occurring in the student community outside the classroom into the classroom. These external pressures affect students' openness and feelings of safety in learning and interaction, faculty members' comfort, and everyone's willingness to innovate and take risks; their impact is avoided at peril to the learning process.

Our research-oriented higher education institutions and their discipline-centric curricula and traditions have been developed principally by members of privileged social groups and have been maintained more or less in this fashion until very recently (how much more or less, if any, is a matter of considerable debate on many campuses). Thus, although college may be a new experience for all young men and women graduating from secondary schools, it often represents entry into new cultural turf for many students of color and for students from lower- and lower-middle-class backgrounds (and for some women). Thus, it is imperative to think and plan especially carefully for how more-multicultural educational approaches may promote the success of less wealthy students and students of color, students who are least acclimated by prior background and experience to the academic culture. For most white and upper-middle-class young men and women, college is a natural outgrowth of their cultural background and family expectations. College is a new step on the ladder of privilege, but it is old turf: They are more likely to know the language and norms, to be surrounded by people like themselves, to feel they belong, and thus to have the cultural capital to advance facilely in these settings.

Adequate attention to theory and research on young adult learning styles would bring to the fore questions about the ways in which learning styles differ — by individuals' cognitive and emotional characteristics but as well by their gender and class and ethnicity (Anderson and Adams 1992; Auster and MacRone 1994; Kolb 1984). Some of the work in this area is itself dangerously stereotypical and needs to be examined and implemented carefully. However, the evidence suggests that people of different cultural (racial, ethnic, class, gender) groups may have different preferred learning styles and thus might learn (or test or perform) best via different instructional modes (e.g., oral versus written performance, active versus passive instruction, timed versus power tests). Thoughtful consideration of the best of this work could lead to a lessening of monocultural and exclusionary assumptions about appropriate student learning styles and motivations or talent. It also might inform a more plural set of approaches to classroom activities and faculty teaching techniques and help draw our attention to the fit between the styles of different groups of students and the dominant cultures of the academy (e.g., Auster and MacRone 1994 discuss what they argue is the "masculine" nature of the educational system, reflected in public displays of superior knowledge, argument, and challenge). By highlighting the similarities and differences between our own faculty styles and those of students who are alike or unlike us on gender, class, and racial bases, we may also increase our own awareness and sensitivity to our differential impact on students.

Students of color (and many women and students from lower-class backgrounds) often must deal with faculty and student racism (and sexism and classism) evident in lower expectations for their success and general discomfort with their presence. The realities of race and class privilege in U.S. society often mean that students of color come from secondary school systems where they were not as well prepared for certain aspects of college life and work as were white students and students from wealthier communities and school systems. Many students of color, in turn, appear far more savvy about structures of power in the society and have more-developed survival skills than do their white peers. Generally, these preparation differences are matters not of intellectual ability or hard work but of specific skills (and perhaps values) cherished and reproduced differently in the dominant and the subordinate cultures. As Feagin, Vera, and Imani note, "On and off college campuses (the products of) white status and privilege are often mistaken for meritorious privilege" (1996: 152). A multicultural teaching approach can challenge many of these monocultural assumptions, deal with these different skills and styles without condescension, help overcome some of these structurally induced differences, and deal head on with peer patterns of race, gender, class, culture, and domination. As such, it is just as likely to reengage passive or disenchanted white and male students as it is to appeal to cautious or alienated students of color or members of other disadvantaged groups. It also may help educate and mobilize students to deal with one another (academically and socially) and their surrounding community in more compassionate and egalitarian ways.

Reports From Students of Color

Lest the reader believe that these arguments are only theoretical and speculative, I document in the following section some of the experiences of students of color on the campus where I work (Chesler, Wilson, and Malani 1993). If we are to promote the success of these students, we must first understand their experiences in our classrooms and their interactions with us and with their white peers. For instance, as a result of these organizational forces, students of color in particular struggle with what often is a distant and alienating educational environment. They report that their experiences in mostly white classrooms and universities include being stereotyped on both academic and behavioral bases; receiving messages of low expectations for academic performance; experiencing behavior from white peers indicating general awkwardness, discomfort, and hostility; dealing with pressures to assimilate or at least to downplay cultural pride and difference; and grappling with exclusion of their culture's contribution to knowledge.

In particular, students of color note that white students challenge them with the perception that they are at college "only because of affirmative action" or that they are the "one true exception" to general minority inadequacy. On the behavioral front, students of color indicate that many white students expect them all to be from the ghetto or barrio, to prefer certain kinds of food or music, and to be all alike. Consider the following reports:[2]

> Knowing that I'm here they're expecting lower scores because I am black. I had a particular incident, we had taken an exam and people were looking at the scores and a white student was shocked that I did extremely well on the exam.
>
> Several students asked me directly about affirmative action and was I a token student. They said, "Yeah, you must have gotten here because you're a token black person. . . . You must not be so smart anyway."
>
> My boyfriend, who is white, his parents are not ignorant people. But when he came back from my house for Thanksgiving they asked him, "So did you have burritos for Thanksgiving?" I'm like, why the hell would we have burritos for Thanksgiving? What are you people thinking? Or the other big thing is that we all came from the jungle. I hate that one too.

These are serious challenges to students' identity and self-esteem — or sense of emotional safety.

White students, these students often report, "look at us strangely" and don't know how or whether to initiate conversation. The resultant sense of alienation and exclusion is verified when students of color are overlooked as lab or study group partners. Consider the following:

> You walk into a room and they're like all eyes on you.
>
> People say things like, "We have enough people in our study group." Or if I ask, "Would you like to get together on class work," they'll say, "Well, I'm getting together with so and so."

Some white students' stereotypes and expressions of discomfort with difference take the form of expecting or enforcing norms of assimilation.

> People tell me, "You're American, speak English, dammit" when I am struggling to learn Spanish. I have no patience for that whatsoever, if I'm in my dorm room with my next door neighbors, who also are Puerto Rican, we're practicing Spanish.
>
> To be an Afro-American student here means you have to learn how to adapt and deal with the pressures, not only from school but from the white majority. You have to build a tolerance to certain things and to be within yourself and know who you are. If not you could be caught in the system and lose your identity as an Afro-American person.
>
> When I met my roommate, who's white, she said, "Well, I'm not going to think of you as black. I'll just think of you as my friend who has a natural suntan."

If white students do not understand or acknowledge the differences that racial/ethnic difference make in this society and do not understand the assimilationist pressures they and the institution place on students of color, how can meaningful relationships develop? *How can students of color make maximum progress toward success in such environs?* Moreover, if many white students do not see themselves as "having race," as being racially distinctive, or as benefiting from the structure of race relations, then the only people who are seen to have race and racial distinctions and are affected by racialized social and educational structures are students of color. Without knowledge of their own racial membership and its meaning, white students have a hard time understanding and abiding the meaning and impact of race for students of color. Students of color, who may be quite clear about the personal and social meaning and implications of their racial group membership, find it both strange and offensive that white students fail to comprehend or are offended by these dynamics.

> White people don't want to hear what you have to say if it is the least bit antagonistic, and black people don't have tolerance for white people not understanding.
>
> There's one thing that I always seem to run into with white students. You say things about race and racism and they're like, "Oh, you're just talking over our heads. It's not really us who did those things. What did I do? Why are you attacking me?" And they don't listen to what you're saying. They don't listen to the content.

There is little evidence in these reports that faculty attempted to organize classrooms or classroom activities in ways that would alter these patterns of interaction. In fact, some students of color feel that these peer interactions in and out of the classroom are reinforced by faculty actions that either perpetuate or seldom confront patterns of distance and disrespect.

> I had one professor tell me that he didn't want anyone messing up his class because up until now he had done everything right. He didn't have tenure, but he was real close to it and he really didn't want anything to mess it up.
>
> I think if the instructor does try to do something about racist comments made in class by students he's going to have to take a stand, and he won't do that.

And some students of color feel that the awkwardness or inappropriateness displayed by some white students also is reflected in some white faculty members' behaviors.

> The professors never joke in class with black students. Their jokes are directed toward white students. You would think they know the white students personally. When professors and TAs favor the white students that makes you feel uncomfortable, it affects you.
>
> I would never talk with the professors about my views of science. They make me feel uncomfortable in class, and they make things more difficult than they have to be. Professors will sometimes embarrass students in class by implicitly asking, "Are you stupid?"

In addition, while some students of color report positive and caring relations with (predominantly white) faculty members, many others report that faculty often have low expectations for them and do not seem to have faith in or care about their intellectual progress. Consider the following:

> I wasn't doing well in the course and the professor said, "Oh, well, drop the course. There's nothing I can do for you and there's nothing you can do."
>
> They never really seem to think that I have the intelligence to be in their classes. I don't know if it is because I am a woman or because I am black.

And some of these students feel that when faculty members do pay attention to students of color, it sometimes takes the form of expecting them to be experts on the life of minority groups or of poor people.

> An Asian article came up in class and the teacher looked at me and said, "I'm sure XXX will have much to say about this next article."
>
> When you take classes at the university and you're African American and you talk about black issues, they look at you assuming

> that you know all about the topic. . . . They look at you like you're the person who should know all about living in the ghetto . . . the professors and students.

Recent efforts to pluralize the curriculum have highlighted the ways in which the concerns or histories or traditions of members of racial and ethnic minorities often have been missing from course materials. Moreover, given the focus on race as involving primarily white-black issues, the traditions of Latino, Native American, and Asian students especially are absent.

> The professor prefaced everything by saying that most of the stuff we're going to be doing is Western art, European art. And I realized that they're, we're, missing an entire culture of Asian art, African art, and South American art.

> It just seems like we Asian Americans are the extra thing, you know, and when professors want to include everyone . . . like this one professor was saying, like when she wanted to talk about all Americans, she would say, "blacks and whites both."

These are by no means the only themes reflected in reports of students of color on college campuses, nor are they new findings. Many other reports, some from research scholars and others from university self-studies, predict as well as extend these descriptions and analyses and also indicate their relevance for women and gay or lesbian students (Allen 1988; Astin et al. 1972; Blauner 1972; Chan and Wang 1991; Chesler, Wilson, and Malani 1993; D'Emilio 1990; Feagin, Vera, and Imani 1996; Fiske 1988; Fleming 1981; Hall and Sandler 1982; Hughes and Sandler 1988; Katz 1983; Malaney 1994; McBay 1986; Pennsylvania State University 1992; Peterson et al. 1978; Richardson, Simmons, and de los Santos 1987; Simmons 1993; Stikes 1984; Tierney 1992; University of California at Berkeley 1991; Wang 1988). That these research studies report similar findings — over decades of experience and inquiry in a wide variety of institutions — is itself distressing.

Some Dilemmas Facing Faculty Members

I do not suggest that the classroom patterns or events described above are products of deliberate acts on the part of college and university students or faculty. Far from it: I have tried to emphasize throughout that larger and more impersonal organizational and societal forces, as well as deficiencies in knowledge and skill, are at work in creating a low priority on undergraduate education in general and the development and maintenance of racialized patterns in classrooms and on campus. But it is clear that a lack of organizational imagination and commitment to racial justice and equity in these educational settings places an enormous burden on individual students — students of color and white students — to learn academic material and relate effectively with one another. It also places a great burden on faculty members to try to teach well and justly in this difficult environment. For faculty, like students, generally come from, live in, and work and play in racially separate environments. Most of us lack the life experiences and pedagogical skills that would enable us to do a better job in these settings.

The faculty role is critical — and problematic — in these settings. Despite evidence that collegiate faculty are among the most "liberal" of all occupational groups on matters relating to social equality and justice, including race relations and racism, "Research studies since the 1970s indicate that only a modest number of white faculty members have made any significant concessions (sic) to the presence of African American students on their campuses or in their classrooms" (Feagin, Vera, and Imani 1996: 83). Across several decades, both Blauner (1972) and Stassen (1995) have focused on the contradictions and paradoxes displayed in the racially conservative classroom behavior of a faculty reputed to be among the most racially liberal groups in society. Some research and discussion in our own discipline, such as this volume and a range of other ASA programs, suggest that sociology may be even more liberal collectively than other disciplines, but we still have a long way to go. As I noted earlier, this general political orientation of sociologists as well as the general substantive foci of our field provide us with a greater responsibility as well as opportunity to deal with these issues.

What might help is an analysis of our own conceptions and feelings as faculty members and of the issues we face in diverse teaching environments. A small and mostly ethnographic and autobiographical strain of work addresses the myriad challenges experienced by faculty of color, especially women faculty of color, in the diverse classroom. This work highlights the challenges they face from white students who are unused to and uncomfortable with their authority, the demands made by students of color who desire special treatment or particular nurturance from these too scarce role models, and the sense of isolation they encounter in relations with white colleagues.

There is not a lot of research available on how we who are white men deal with these classroom issues, as most scholarly work focuses on the "others" (students, students of color and women students, and occasionally women faculty and faculty of color). Reed (1996; see also FAIRteach 1994) reports on a faculty-initiated and -designed series of workshops that attempted to help develop and improve the skills of faculty members for work in multicultural classrooms. As part of their reflection in these peer learning sessions, faculty participants expressed the following priorities for future learning:

- Make my course content more multicultural.
- Handle race- and gender-related incidents in class with confidence.
- Avoid racist behavior as an instructor.
- Adopt a teaching style that is effective with a wide variety of student cultural styles.
- Incorporate critical thinking about race, gender, ethnicity, and class in courses.

- Help students deal with these differences in class.
- Surface and deal with covert race and gender conflicts effectively.
- Avoid centering all authority on myself.

Obear and Weinstein (1992) have identified some of the particular issues faculty experience when dealing with race, ethnicity, racism, and ethnic discrimination in the classroom:

- Confronting my own social and identity conflicts — becoming and being aware of my own social identity and how it impacts on others.
- Confronting (or being confronted with) my own biases — being aware of how others' different social identities impact on me, my assumptions, my own racial and sexist baggage (*knapsack* in McIntosh's terms [1989]) and reacting to others pointing them out to me.
- Responding to bias and discrimination when it occurs — knowing what to do when members of dominant groups or nondominant groups unfairly target each other.
- Handling doubts about my own competency — dealing with fears about my own ignorance, my struggles with these issues, and the possibility of my making mistakes or misjudgments.
- Needing approval from students — dealing with concern about offending students or failing to be effective with them.
- Handling intense emotions — knowing how to deal with my own and others' strong emotions so that I can handle difficult situations without them or me blowing up.

I can add to this list some others from my own experience working with myself and colleagues:

- Deciding which and how many perspectives to include in class materials — teaching the assigned, expected course content while including materials that touch a wide variety of students.
- Handling differences in students' styles of learning and participating in class — developing plural forms of presentation, intellectual work, assignments, papers, and tests.
- Managing time and energy — working on these issues in realistic ways that do not eat up all my academic and personal time.
- Managing my own feelings of the need for change in ways that do not alienate colleagues by thinking of or presenting myself as having superior racial/ethnic knowledge and pedagogical practice.
- Dealing with colleagues' reactions — responding to colleagues who feel I am being too soft with students of color (or any student), pandering to concerns of political correctness, or watering down serious intellectual content to deal with "interactional" or "process" issues.
- Deciding how much time and energy to invest in student life and intergroup issues in campus and community nonacademic environs (resi-

dence halls, social and political clubs, activist movements for change) and balancing that with my primary teaching and research responsibilities.

All these issues may be universal in the teaching-learning situation, but in multicultural settings, they generally are more problematic. For here, we as faculty (as everyone else) are more vulnerable, both in our own identities and our location in the cauldron of intergroup struggle. Learning to teach in multicultural ways may not proceed smoothly, but probably involves twists and turns, advances and retreats, as we learn better how to do it.

What Might We Do?

The prior discussion and analysis has presented one image among many about the state of affairs in modern research universities. All of us who work in and care about these institutions and the students we teach need to consider and plan for reform of the prevailing culture and structures in which we operate. Indeed, a few faculty, often operating in coalition with student groups and administrative allies, have attempted to alter these institutional contexts by becoming active agents for change in their organizations. This is an uncommon approach, given the resistance it generates and the risks of stigmatization or retaliation from members of the dominant academic culture; but in the long run it targets the essential need for large-scale organizational transformation if multiculturalism is to succeed (see Chesler and Crowfoot 1997).

In this portion of this essay, I take a more limited approach: I focus on some innovations that are being introduced, or need to be introduced, by faculty ourselves to alter the current situation. Some faculty who have focused on what we might do differently in the classroom have organized groups of colleagues and administrators in peer learning ventures (FAIRteach 1994; Ouellett and Sorcinelli 1995; Schmitz, Paul, and Greenberg 1992). They suggest we consider a variety of factors in efforts to create a more multicultural environment in the classroom, one that can promote the success of all students, especially students of color. Pluralizing the content of the curriculum and of specific courses involves dealing with our legacies of racism and sexism and the ways in which the historic construction of knowledge both privileges and reflects primarily Western white and male outlooks. Thus, explanation of these traditions and reconstruction of materials in a more plural manner are useful strategies. The same is likely to be true for traditional pedagogical approaches, including change in the primary reliance on lectures, passive student postures, highly prestructured written examinations, a lack of attention to classroom group dynamics, a narrow range of classroom learning activities, and the separation of the classroom from the rest of the university and from the surrounding community context. Attention to individual differences in learning styles as well as group-related differences also can help to pluralize the approaches faculty use in the teaching process.

Some students of color identified faculty behaviors that seemed to have a positive effect on them personally, on the white students in class, and on their peer relationships (Chesler, Wilson, and Malani 1993; see also Feagin, Vera, and Imani 1996: 85-86).

> In one course the professor did a really good job of integrating material about black people into the course material. He talked about the role of black people in the industry, he brought in guest lecturers when he didn't know the material. A lot of professors don't know a lot about other cultures because they've been miseducated, and they feel that to bring someone else in as an auxiliary is to admit that they don't know.
>
> In an English class some students said that one of the authors was sexist as well as racist. It was put on the computer conference and people actually wrote back. The professor got on and said that this was a very good thing to put on the system. He said people needed to not just read the material but actually discuss the differences in perspective.
>
> We had a discussion about the idea of affirmative action and the idea of racism and racial tension in general. I think we all got to see both sides of the issue. I think it was really helpful.

Two compendia of writings by inventive faculty members provide a range of classroom activities that promise to be very effective in dealing with these issues in diverse classrooms (see Adams, Bell, and Griffin 1997; Schoem et al. 1993). They not only suggest new ways of thinking about and presenting substantive content to diverse audiences but also present a number of innovative experiential designs that engage students directly in confronting diversity issues in themselves and their peers and in active learning processes.

All these classroom (re)considerations take place, of course, within the context of the classroom as a social group, as more than an aggregation of individual minds and bodies. As students, and students and faculty, sit, learn, and work together in a defined geographic and intellectual space, they establish patterned ways of relating with one another. Together we become a social group with norms and expectations of one another. If such groups are allowed to form on the basis of their natural tendencies, this society's embracing power of institutional racism probably will re-create in class the sense and structure of privilege and/or dispossession normally experienced by people of different identity groups in the society at large. Thus, faculty must plan and organize different norms and expectations as well as patterns of interaction to create a more positive social climate in the classroom. The time it takes to establish a safe and productive social climate in the classroom often results in increased student comfort and energy, representing a major return on the initial investment. Finally, of course, no matter how well-planned and -organized the classroom experience may be, tensions arising from events outside the classroom may leak and create incidents or crises in racial interaction (withdrawal, grossly differential performance, exclusion, hostile outbursts), and faculty members must be able to respond meaningfully to these events.

The personal resources, group identities, and personal prejudices that we as faculty members bring to the classroom also demand our attention. Just as we may bring to this work the best of intentions and skill, we also bring our own "knapsacks" of privilege (based on our own race, class, and gender [McIntosh 1989]). Earlier I (and Bell et al. 1997; Obear and Weinstein 1992; Reed 1996) noted the importance of understanding the role and impact on students of our own race (and gender and class) and of theirs on us. We also would do well to assess our own skills, knowledge, and resources and the degree to which we need to further develop these resources in preparation for effective and just teaching in the multicultural classroom.

Among the important steps we might take are:

1. Evaluating our own teaching by reflecting on and getting feedback on our own strengths and weaknesses, on the kinds of students we enjoy and clearly have positive impact on and others we have been uncomfortable with or failed to reach, on the distribution of grades and attendance in our classes, and on the extent and nature of out-of-class contact with students. We can invite undergraduate students, graduate student mentees, or faculty colleagues to assist in this feedback endeavor, on an oral or written basis, personally or anonymously;
2. Assessing our own level of consciousness and awareness of individual and institutional racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia and deciding what more we need or want to learn about our own cultural heritage and that of other groups. It is as important to affirm honestly what we do know as it is to identify what we yet need to learn;
3. Making an inventory of faculty development resources that can help us meet our learning agendas and then engaging in some of these opportunities. Some of these resources may be available from disciplinary associations or colleagues, some from college or university centers established to assist faculty, and others from special conferences and programs focusing on specific knowledge and skills involved in teaching and learning in diverse and multicultural classrooms;
4. Identifying on-campus and off-campus opportunities to learn cognitively and experientially about the history and current situations or needs of young people who are members of different racial, economic, gender, sexual orientation, and religious groups;
5. Seeking out or creating a teaching support group, a group of faculty peers with whom we can share problems and new ideas, fears and hopes, and specific examples of classroom designs and activities. Some members of such a peer support group could be invited to observe us teach, and vice versa;

6. Mobilizing faculty, student, and administrative allies to create pressure for transformation of departmental and organizational cultures and structures (including mission, disciplinary foci and curricula, reward structures, support infrastructures) so that multicultural change processes are under way throughout the university system.

The figure on the next page presents an example of a self-assessment device that identifies some of the skills and tasks appropriate for creating a more multicultural classroom environment. Most of the items in this figure reflect points made earlier. They focus our attention on the breadth of and pluralism of an instructor's substantive knowledge (1, 2, 3, 4), personal awareness and consciousness (5, 6), skill in dealing with classroom group dynamics in general (7, 8, 9), ability to work with a diverse group of students in particular (10, 11, 12), and preparedness to deal with potential conflict (13, 14). Individually, in small groups of faculty, or together with faculty development consultants, we can reflect on our own skills, share our concerns and pedagogical techniques or assumptions, articulate the skills we would like to access, and identify relevant resources that might help improve our current knowledge and skills. Faculty members who can discuss and exchange information (and fears and hopes) on these matters have already taken a major step toward creating a more positive collegial environment, cracking the "culture of silence," and increasing the chances of more effective classroom teaching.

A Final Thought

The effort to move toward just and effective teaching, to create a multicultural classroom, is hard work, requiring considerable time and energy. It is *lifework:* It will happen not in a day or a semester but over a lifetime of conscious effort to unlearn and learn. It also is not something that can be done in isolation; we will have to engage peers and students in this endeavor. We can expect to have some failures as well as successes along the way and, in trying to grow and change, may well discover new paths for our own scholarly work beyond the classroom. The movement from monocultural to multicultural teaching is not likely to be one of linear progression; it is far more likely to be a start-and-stop process replete with occasional regression and failure as well as success. It calls for a long-term investment, an investment in our own growth and change as well as in our students and in the society of which they and we will continue to be a part.

Notes

1. Nor may it be necessary. Multicultural teaching may take place in an all-white (or all-male) student body, as well. In such circumstances, different experiential pedagogical strategies may have to be employed and greater abstractions relied upon, but a lack of diversity, however dismal on its own terms, does not relieve us of the responsibility to

Teaching Skills I Have and Skills I'd Like to Have

A. Where am I? What is the state of my skill?
B. Where would I like to be? What skill would I like?

On a 1 (low) to 5 (high) point scale, rate your current (column A) and your desired (column B) level for each listed skill — feel free to add and rate other relevant skills.

Skills relevant to teaching in a multicultural manner	**A**	**B**
1. Can make my course content more multicultural.		
2. Can find audiovisual materials about different groups.		
3. Can discuss history of racism, sexism, and classism in my discipline.		
4. Can incorporate critical thinking about race, gender, ethnicity, class, and sexual orientation.		
5. Can identify and avoid racist and sexist behavior as an instructor.		
6. Can articulate my own biases and assumptions about students and students' backgrounds.		
7. Can help students work together in diverse teams.		
8. Can deal with issues of group resistance and active or passive challenges to authority.		
9. Have a personal manner and style that is effective with different groups of students (by race, gender, etc.).		
10. Can use class activities and assignments that are responsive to different group and individual learning styles.		
11. Can help students deal with issues of difference in the classroom.		
12. Can help students deal with issues of privilege/dominance in class.		
13. Can handle group conflicts or incidents that arise in class.		
14. Can surface and deal with covert race and gender conflict.		
15. Other:		
16. Other:		

raise and pursue issues of multiculturalism.

2. The following excerpts are from a series of focus groups conducted with students of color at a major research university (Chesler, Wilson, and Malani 1993).

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Translating Research Into Practice

A Conversation With Walter Allen, With Annotated Bibliography

Jeffrey Chin

Walter Allen is a professor of sociology at UCLA. He has been actively doing groundbreaking research for more than 25 years in the sociology of education in general and black students' success specifically. Among his many publications are *The Color Line and the Quality of Life in America* (with Farley, 1987) and *College in Black and White: African American Students in Predominantly White and in Historically Black Public Universities* (coedited with Epps and Haniff, 1991).

Allen's research has examined race, gender, and social class inequities in educational achievement over the life span. His research on African American families reveals how these families emphasize holistic development of black children in their socialization practices. Therefore, black families emphasize growth and development in each of four key spheres: cognitive, affective, social, and cultural development (Spencer, Brookins, and Allen 1985). Looking outward from these families, Allen's research seeks to map the historical, racial, and economic contexts where black families are located. While these families exercise some agency, his research reveals how racism, poverty, and other large-scale social forces (e.g., immigration, recession, social policy) operate to constrain or impede their efforts to produce healthy, high-achieving children (Allen 1995). He seeks to better understand the dynamic relationship between individuals, groups, institutional setting, structural relationships, and sociohistorical setting, which account for educational achievement. In this connection, Allen's empirical research has shown how racism and colorism interact with gender and race to explain social mobility among blacks and Latinos (Allen, Telles, and Hunter 2000); why African American students who attend historically black colleges and universities have better grades and higher aspirations than similarly qualified black students who attend predominantly white colleges (Allen 1992); and the ways that female law school students' psychological well-being and career goals are lower than those for male law school students who have lower grades in law school (Allen and Solórzano 2001). Moreover, Walter Allen's research program has been characterized by attempts to translate research findings into practices that correct race, gender, and

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The companion piece to this interview is a selective annotated bibliography that emphasizes sources of extensive, supplemental reviews of the published literature about theory, research, practices, and policies enhancing academic success among students of color.

social class discrimination in educational settings (Allen, Hunt, and Gilbert 1997).

Allen grew up in Kansas City, Missouri, at a time when that state and its school system were still engaged in Jim Crow segregation. He grew up in low-income housing projects, raised by his mother with five older sisters and two younger brothers. He attended Beloit College and was the first one in his family to graduate from college.

Ironically, Allen did not like his introduction to sociology course. His first positive experience with sociology was in a family course. When he was finally hooked on sociology, he wanted to use his sociological training to be a social engineer. It was not until his last year at Beloit that a mentor began to work with him and convinced him to become an academic.

Allen went on to the University of Chicago, where he finished the program in four years. He took his first job at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill and finished his dissertation there, a comparative study of achievement, attitudes, motivations, and outcomes for a group of black and white adolescents. After Chapel Hill, he went to the University of Michigan and then to the University of California-Los Angeles.

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Chin: Can you talk a little bit about your personal experiences of being an African American male? You have had some great successes. What helped you achieve these goals? And what got in the way?

Allen: In most of those academic settings, blacks in general but black males in particular were a sparse and very rare commodity. And that posed some very obvious challenges. The fact of the matter is that we were underrepresented in those settings, and in many of those instances the settings were, if not merely indifferent, flat out hostile. People had no positive expectations. And indeed in some instances it seemed that people were dedicated to the notion that I would fail and would not excel in those environments. It was a complicated kind of negativity that sometimes came out as a lack of information. Or it came from just a lack of exposure. People just thought about their particular construction of life in the world and could not imagine any other point of view or any other construction or just would not even think about it. It was difficult at times, and it took its toll on many of my peers and colleagues. So for those of us who were successful, several elements were at work.

I absolutely attribute my success to strategically placed mentors. And at those moments when I most needed it, I was able to find people who provided that role of support, mentoring, hands-on education, and inspiration. I can identify the people at pivotal moments all along the educational trajectory. At Beloit, it was a woman named Blake Hill, who had been a nun for a while and left that profession to become a college professor. She was the person whom I encountered in that first substantive course that sold me on sociology. It was her perspective, it was her interest, it was her support, it was her tough love — and having some serious standards and demands — that pushed me. But she also believed that I was capable, and she made it her business to figure out areas that needed to be strengthened and gave solutions and options and opportunities for me to grow. In addition to Blake Hill, Don Summers, the chair of the department at Beloit College, worked with me about continuing beyond the bachelor's to graduate study in sociology. He explained to me the ins and outs of the application process, what the profession was about. In fact, it was largely by his hand that I ended up going to Chicago. He absolutely insisted that I go ahead and send an application to Chicago, even if I was sure that it was not a place I wanted to go. And then once I started investigating Chicago, I became excited about the place.

After arriving at Chicago, it was Donald Bogue, Phil Hauser, Evelyn Kitagawa, William J. Wilson, and a very young faculty member named Jack Kasarda. Those were the people who helped me to develop and helped shape me in the early years of my graduate program. Then I began tutelage with Edgar Epps, the mentor who most influenced my professional and career development.

But over the entire span of my educational experience of the graduate years to professional years, I benefited from a supportive cadre of colleagues. We formed work groups that inspired, that monitored, that supported one another from grad school on. And those groups have continued to this day. So I have had working relationships with Margaret Spencer, Bruce Hare, Cheryl Leggon, and Reg Clark, and that's coming up on 30 years now. In the graduate years, we worked together to prepare for exams. Since then we have collaborated on edited volumes and research projects, writing papers, supporting one another in terms of letters of reference and exchanging students. So without those peer supports, coupled with the support from faculty members, I honestly cannot say that I would have made it through and certainly not have done as well. And so what I have tried to do in my own work is to develop those same models in terms of how faculty supported me to provide that kind of support to the students I work with. I encourage them to form relationships with their colleagues and try to present them with opportunities. In many instances, this means collaboration with faculty on research projects, papers, publications, and what have you.

Chin: Can you talk a little more about what that looks like? Are there structures in the places where you worked that helped you ensure that students of color had these networks? Is it more "catch on the fly" in developing personal relationships with students, or are there other structural kinds of things that people can transplant from a Walter Allen environment to some other school someplace else?

Allen: Those are good questions. I think that as much as anything else it is procedural. It's about mechanisms and procedures and exchanges that you put in place as you go along. You try to achieve some structural change in the institution and the departments, and indeed some of that has occurred. But still, to be quite honest, by their very nature and structure these institutional and organizational bases do have a tendency to operate at cross purposes with the goal of increasing African American student representation and success. That's just how they operate and it's not, quite frankly, by chance. It has a historical antecedent. It has an attitudinal antecedent in terms of racial stereotyping, and so it continues to pose challenges to students of color that are different from the challenges posed to their peer students who are white.

Chin: Let me give you an example of something I am thinking of, although not one specific to sociology classes. At my institution, Le Moyne, we have a higher education opportunity program (HEOP). It is not specifically for students of color. Officially, it is for economically disadvantaged students. But that typically means the population of HEOP students is largely African American, Latino American, and some Asian American students, too. And you may have actually met Carl Thomas when you were here. He's the director of our HEOP. One of the things that his staff set up a few years ago was a mentor program. It's a very nice idea and it's very simple. Each HEOP student has a faculty member on campus to whom he or she is assigned as a mentor. That person has no advising responsibilities, because the student still has a formal academic adviser. The student has no teacher-student relationship with this faculty member unless they happen to be in a class together. This is merely a person to whom that student can go with a problem and say, "I am having a problem with this professor. What should I do?" or "I am having trouble with my roommate" or whatever the case may be. I have done it for a couple of years, and I think it depends largely on the initiative of the student how successful it is. But I see that of being a way of creating a structure within the institution, of trying to help students of color, in this case, be integrated into the community in ways they might not normally be. They might not normally walk into any faculty member's office and say, "I have a problem."

Allen: I actually have the sense that those kinds of programs have operated on many of the campuses where I have been a student or a faculty member. The closest I came to involvement with those kinds of programs was when I was an undergraduate at Beloit College, where we had a "high potential" program. And I helped to shape and design and execute that program. But ultimately in the kinds of schools (large research universities) where I found myself, much of what you just referred to falls in the portfolio of student services. And so I will as a faculty member sometimes be in a role of advising on those kinds of programs and/or referring students to them. But, honestly, one of our dilemmas is that I've just not had time to take up that kind of initiative. To the extent that I was thinking about structural initiatives, I was trying to figure out the extent to which, for example, admissions criteria had been changed. And it is frustrating, because we will go through individual circumstances and cases that demonstrate, for example, that a broader measure of potential than a standardized test is required. But then we have to revisit and go over that same ground again on the next round. So for me, the attempt has been to achieve that kind of real change by working with students case by case, in intense mentoring relationships. If I knew they had a specific problem, we brainstormed, trying to figure out what we can do, given the resources that are available to address that problem.

And then I have also at another level, a level very much removed from individual students, tried to influence educational policy. That is, trying to write, trying to testify before legislative committees, trying to impact the larger system that's making decisions that determine educational access and opportunity. And let me give you a specific example. A recent case was reconsideration of the SAT at the University of California. I actually worked on the faculty-staff advisory committee that went through a process of evaluating how we made admissions decisions, held a statewide conference, generated the recommendations that then went forward to the president and served as the basis for his arriving at that decision and making that recent announcement where UC committed to broadening the criteria for admissions beyond the SAT. And so that is removed from those middle-range, what I will just call for lack of a better way of putting it, *student service programs*. But I understand it is larger than that; I understand exactly what you are talking about. It concerns faculty involvement with service to students. To the extent that I work with the undergraduates, it's honestly catch-as-catch-can. In my class, I will have 200 students. And so what I do is to identify the ones who I think are extraordinarily promising. I send them notes, ask them to come in, and begin to work with them individually (informed by my knowledge and understanding) on strategies and programs for moving them forward in terms of their career aspirations and academic goals. Then there is another group of students who by their own initiative and motivation will come to me. So those are the ways in which I do the work at the middle level. But I quite frankly try to minimize my engagement with the student services aspect. I selectively serve on the various committees, for example, that make decisions about admissions and make decisions about requirements. Otherwise, you quickly just get overwhelmed and then end up not serving the students very well in the areas of my greatest strength.

Chin: Can you talk a little bit more about what you have been doing — not only what's in the '91 book, but also since then?

Allen: Most recently we're funded to undertake a study of diversity access and achievement in the California higher education system. But the specific focus is on black and Chicano-Latino students in terms of their pathways to educational achievement and success. As an aside, we focus on those two groups because we were not able to educate foundations to change their stereotypic notions that there are no issues of this sort to be considered within, say, the Asian American population, Asian Pacific Island population, or even in the white population. So on the side, we are trying to demonstrate that there are class differences within most groups, or even nativity differences. The moment you lump any group together, you lose the sense of what's happening with that group, because in some of the Latino and African American populations you have high-status blacks and Mexican Americans who do very well. It is a five-year project. High schools are the point of entry into the study, and then we follow the junior and senior cohorts into their first two years of college. So that's one large study.

We have also undertaken a study of campus racial climate and the dynamics of race, racial exclusion, and how that impacts achievement in conjunction with two court cases — the University of California-Berkeley case where a group of Filipino, Latino, and black students are suing the regents, claiming that they have been denied equal educational opportunity by virtue of the overturn of affirmative action programs, and a case involving the University of Michigan, where the Center for Individual Rights is suing to block or end the operation of affirmative action, claiming that these programs discriminate against whites. So what I am trying to do in each instance is to understand individual experiences and outcomes in the context of structural relationships by race, by gender, and by class. So that is a quick synopsis of the major studies we are doing in the area of higher education and racial-ethnic diversity.

Chin: Any preliminary results?

Allen: Sure. First of all, in terms of the studies of university racial climate and the dynamics of race on those campuses, we basically use a kind of case study, multimethod, intensive focus that gathers extensive data. We begin with archival data, institutional records, whatever historical data we can find, newspapers, that kind of context-building material. We gather survey data. Then we conduct focus groups and intensive, in-depth interviews. So we're literally triangulating. In fact, if you look at my work over the years, what you see more often than not is that we use a variety of methodologies under the assumption and belief that each methodology has strengths and weaknesses. Each methodology has points of clarity and points that are blind spots. But if you use them together, you come out with a much clearer understanding of the phenomenon under study. So out of that multimethod case study has come the following kinds of findings about campus racial climate.

These climates continue to be generally hostile in terms of race and in terms of gender toward the groups that are not at the center. Another way of putting it is that the campuses privilege whiteness, they privilege maleness, they privilege middle-class background. This privileging is structural in terms of the kinds of general characteristics, e.g., background traits and expectations, that are there. But also the privileging plays out in terms of interpersonal interactions in those environments. Stereotyped students are granted differential access to opportunity. These students are graded differently, and in some instances, we saw blatant acts of racial discrimination in terms of verbal discrimination and abuse, and in a couple instances physical abuse.

There is also systematic discrimination within the campuses by several key agents. Police forces will engage in racial profiling of students of color, always communicating to those students that "you can't be here legitimately, so show me your ID," whereas the white student standing next to you does not have to show an ID. Latino or female students in the sciences will have a difficult time getting into vital study groups because other students assume that to include them will bring down the group grade and therefore bring down all group members' course grades. Teachers make assumptions and make stereotypic comments, acting in very stereotypic ways, creating environments where there is racial harassment.

Then what we have been able to do is to systematically link these negative experiences to the negative impacts on student academic performance. Students begin to withdraw. They begin to not attend class. They just are pushed into adaptations that ultimately have negative consequences for their academic performance, for their academic records, and for their academic trajectories and careers. Ultimately, what this project represents is a culmination of work I have been doing for more than 25 years. The early years I administered surveys that assessed racial attitudes on the campuses. Later, I conducted focus groups that provided an understanding of the underlying processes on the campuses that translated into positive or negative consequences for students. I have also done work that points to the history of race and education and racial discrimination in the United States. However, in these recent studies, we have been able to pull the pieces into a codified whole and hopefully to show this nested reality where you have historical factors at the most abstract and distant level. You have an institutional pattern of rules, some of which seem to be quite objective, but rules that ultimately are very much shaped in ways that preference certain groups, often for no educationally sound reason. The next level looks at the general aggregate descriptions of attitudes on the campus, the general campus climate, and the interpersonal interactions and exchanges. The final level explores internal states, asking what the academic consequences are of how confident a student feels, how comfortable, how accepted, how stressed. With all of this coming together, hopefully it represents a comprehensive explanatory system.

Chin: What you say is very depressing. It's saying that not much has changed despite all the efforts over the years and that in fact there are some indicators that would suggest we are going backward, and your data seem to confirm that.

Allen: Well, it's cyclical. We're clearly in a down cycle. However, I would just caution that the bottom of the down cycle in diversity in higher education, in many respects, is not as low as it had been in the 1960s. And certainly it's not as low as it had been in the 1950s. So the notion is to try to understand both the positive and negative lessons of the work and to see the overall complexity. If you look at the book that I wrote with Farley [Farley and Allen 1987], my emphasis has always been to talk about the progress that we have made in terms of race and equity but then also to be honest and think about the distance that we have yet to travel. So I think to tell either side of the story without telling the other side is to tell an incomplete story. We have made some gains, but we're losing ground in some respects and we are reshuffling populations in other regards. For example, the values and the attitudes of higher education institutions — at least the principles that they espouse — have in many respects changed and changed for the better. It's hard to find anyone who argues that it is reasonable to have a university with only white students, that has no racial-ethnic diversity. So in some respects, we have moved beyond those kinds of traditional, racist presumptions. But we still have a way to go in terms of working out so many other related issues.

Chin: Does your research point to any strategy that seems to work consistently and effectively most of the time?

Allen: I'll tell you some key elements that seem to produce positive academic experiences and outcomes. Maybe that's the way I can best respond. Campus leadership is absolutely crucial. It has to come from the very top — from the chancellor, from the president — that these questions of diversity are vital. It is vital to reconfigure and reinvent the university [concept] so they are truly universities and not "euro-versities" that only concentrate on European and European American heritage and have no place for other experiences and backgrounds. Faculty members have a critical and crucial role to play; they set the tenor, shape, and tone on the campus and very much influence the outcome. Because ultimately it is up to faculty to decide. The areas in which faculty have nearly total authority are who gets in, what they are taught, how they are evaluated, and who succeeds. The administration has its responsibilities, support services have their responsibilities, but we faculty are the ones who set those admissions criteria and shape the content of classroom instruction and really determine the other stages along the way. So faculty are crucial agents when it comes to influencing campus racial climate.

Now in terms of the students themselves, I have found frankly that the students of color who fare best are those who have this interesting, almost paradoxical orientation. They're fully aware of the real barriers of race and racism but also have confidence in their individual ability to overcome these barriers. For this to become a reality, these students must be equipped with resources and support/counseling/advice that allows them to say, "OK, there's a hurdle ahead of me. What are the strategies that have proved successful in the past for clearing that hurdle?" Indeed, I'm hearing from you quite clearly that that's part of what you are trying to accomplish with this edited volume. These successful students acknowledge the racism, acknowledge the sexism, but then have a belief in their ability to overcome. Most important, however, they have the tools and the resources to translate this belief into reality. I think these kinds of students will more likely persevere and excel.

Chin: Do you think that sociology has a unique position in being able to provide students with the tools, understanding, and knowledge to see where they fit into the larger picture and how they can enact social change?

Allen: I think we have a unique potential. I'm not sure we always achieve it. Because it is so easy for us to slip over into merely systems maintenance activity and affirmation, supporting the status quo and essentially replicating what's already there. Because the tools of our discipline have a tremendous potential as instruments of change, but they also have a tremendous potential to serve as validators and gatekeeping devices. So to the extent we could move beyond using them in that latter sense, then my answer to your question would be yes. Where we do have the potential in the discipline? I feel that the discipline has not necessarily been achieving that potential, particularly of late. The irony is that we were most change-oriented in our earliest years. When you think about the founding years and the kinds of people who came into the discipline and shaped the discipline, they were sizably former theologians. They were coming out of divinity school. They were social workers. They were journalists. They were people who had been in the world, were committed to some positive change and saw the discipline's theories, social concepts, and methodology as a means for achieving positive change. What has been our challenge is that somewhere along the way, we have fallen prey to this notion that we're not a true science unless we replicate the hard sciences. And that for us has been a bit of a problem, in my estimation, because it has removed us from "being in the world" and to some degree threatened our practical relevance. And as we move further and further in that direction, I think we risk losing our potential as a discipline for serving society's needs and providing guidance for positive social change.

Let me mention to you at least one other thing. I just returned from Geneva, where I testified before the United Nations Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. This is another instance where my research on race, racial discrimination, and education found an opportunity for translation into practice and application, as I was able to provide a report from a nongovernmental perspective on how the United States is progressing in terms of race, equity, and achievement. As a signatory to the convention to eliminate racial discrimination, the United States is required to produce a "report card" about the progress to date. The UN then identifies a few experts in each of the countries to provide a nongovernmental perspective on the country's progress in moving beyond racial stereotyping and creating broader opportunities for all the different racial groups, especially "minorities" — which is a term I don't like, but it's a term still in use. Focus is placed on certainly underrepresented populations or populations that have not been sufficiently empowered within the country in question. It was really quite an experience to see some of the same issues being addressed by Japan, by Australia, by Costa Rica, because every country that is a member of the United Nations has to produce a report that essentially talks about these questions. So this was a more recent effort and instance of a concrete attempt to apply my work.

Chin: I am wondering whether there are other areas of your research that would help us understand a little bit better about what works, what kinds of things help students of color specifically in sociology classes and maybe just generally?

Allen: Well, one piece that I have written that seems to be specifically related is titled "The Color of Success." This paper is a comparison of black students in higher education at predominantly white and historically black campuses published by the *Harvard Educational Review* in 1992. Essentially what that study took as its task was to answer the very question you just raised, that is, what are the predictors of success for black students in those two settings? Indeed, what we found was that black students on the predominantly white campuses often, by standard criteria, seem to be stronger students in terms of their test scores and GPAs in high school. But the paradox is that they were doing more poorly in school compared with the black students on the historically black campuses. That is, the students at the white schools have higher drop-out rates, lower performance levels, and just generally lower satisfaction with the educational process. It all translates into a sizable explanatory effect for those differences that had to do with context and, more specifically, with issues of whether the students felt welcome. These factors were largely reflective of the racial climate on the campus. So if the climate was welcoming and supportive, it translated into better academic outcomes for black students than if the opposite were the case.

I have continued to do work of that sort, most recently at the University of Michigan in its battle with the Center for Individual Rights, which is seeking to overturn affirmative action there. We undertook a study of racial and gender campus climate in both the law school and the undergraduate college. Again we found that people will do better academically in settings where they feel supported, valued, and don't feel themselves to be under siege or under attack. We found this to be true in the undergraduate setting not only for black students at the University of Michigan but also for students of color more generally, e.g., Chicanos, Latinos, and also for certain groups within the Asian American student population. The effect was similar in the law school setting. Also, since the law school is a hyper male environment, females suffer in ways comparable with students of color, who suffer more generally.

What we have been trying to do in this research is to specify, concretize, and understand elements of the educational setting, process, and experience for students of color that go beyond individualistic explanations. Such issues unerringly take us to issues of structural racism and structural sexism.

Chin: It sounds, actually, as you were describing the *Harvard Educational Review* piece, that some of the variables that seem to help students of color in particular are probably likely to help any student, but it is most dramatic when students of color feel comfortable. It just seems to be a very commonsense and very simple explanation, but it's not one we do very well.

Allen: I think your point is well taken, because some of the features that explain success for black students in particular and students of color in general are shared by white students. It just becomes more problematic in the cases of students of color because they are more challenged, for example, to find close supportive relationships with faculty. Such relationships are predictors of student success. Students of color are more challenged to find faculty who will encourage their academic risk taking and communicate to them that they are valued. All students need faculty who believe they are competent, that they are capable and should be there in the institution, and who have high expectations for their current and future achievements. So what was very striking from this research was evidence of the shared need, I mean a kind of a common need, on the part of black students — and all students — for positive faculty support.

There were common elements predictive of success, but there was also another layer that had to do with the simple fact that there were, in many instances, environments and professors who discriminated by race and discriminated by gender. And so that became a complication in the sense that you then found that students needed not only the standard elements that predict success. In settings where they were negatively valued and confronted structural discrimination, they had additional needs. If you are in the target category, you need another set of more specialized services or resources. You need individuals who will protect you from discrimination, individuals who would intervene on your behalf, who will help you to interpret that discrimination, to help you understand that it is not solely about you or some shortcoming of your own, but that it is a reflection of some institutional, historical, cultural, power relationships. There is also the need to develop special strategies for coping with situations where you are the target of racial discrimination. How do you approach a faculty member who you think has not graded you fairly? How do you manage a racist encounter? How do you process it? So I guess my point is to make clear that there are the common needs and there are specialized needs.

Chin: I have a question about the Michigan study that you referred to near the beginning. Is there a piece that you have written that I can or should look at that describes what's going on there?

Allen: Yes, the full report is actually online at www.bamn.com. I served as an expert witness working with the student intervenors in the case.

Chin: OK. Let me go back and ask you again, because I know that you probably are more modest than you should be, if there is other work that you have done that we should know about.

Allen: I think the report on diverse learning environments and improving the climate for racial/ethnic diversity in higher education might be helpful (Hurtado et al. 1999). Sylvia Hurtado and Jeff Milem were students of mine, by the way. I served on their doctoral dissertation committees at UCLA.

Chin: Maybe you can give me a brief summary of what that piece is about.

Allen: Essentially, what we do in this piece is to present an institution-level analysis of questions on race, equity, and desegregation. We try to identify and understand factors in this institutional context that predict the outcome for students of color. Here those issues are leveraged to look at campus climate and institutional climate and how that climate can either be supportive of the achievement of students of color or not. So we look at the institutional context, and we look at its historical legacy of inclusion or exclusion, diversity of the campus, the psychological climate, interaction between the races, and patterns of individual success. We then make the point that individual success or failure is best understood in that broader context. So again, it is very sociological having taken up the issues of achievement at the individual level and trying to contextualize these patterns.

Chin: Are there people we absolutely should know about doing good work in the area who have come up with some new and interesting findings, or perhaps young and rising stars?

Allen: Yes, Sylvia Hurtado. Sylvia was a grad student and a post doc student with me. She's currently an associate professor at the University of Michigan grad school of education. The piece that it would be best to consult is "The Institutional Climate for Talented Latino Students" (1993).

William Trent, University of Illinois, is another person who has done work in higher education segregation (see, e.g., Trent 1991a, 1991b). Danny Solórzano, at UCLA, has done work that applies critical race theory to higher education and educational settings, so understanding the implications of certain groups' being privileged in a setting and the consequences that can often result for the groups that are not privileged in those settings (see, e.g., Solórzano 1998; Solórzano and Villalpando 1998). And you see that I actually coauthor the other report with Danny, and so in our citations you'll see a couple of his pieces that I think will be very useful in that regard.

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Allen, W.R., and D.G. Solórzano. (2001). "Affirmative Action, Educational Equity, and Campus Racial Climate: A Case Study of the University of Michigan Law School." *Berkeley La Raza Law Journal* 12(2): 237-363.

Allen, W.R., E.G. Epps, and N.Z. Haniff, eds. (1991). *College in Black and White: African American Students in Predominantly White and in Historically Black Public Universities.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Allen, W.R., D.M. Hunt, and D. Gilbert. (1997). "Race-Consciousness Academic Policy in Higher Education: The University of Maryland Banneker Scholars Program." *Educational Policy* 11(4): 443-478.

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Hurtado, S., J.F. Milem, A.R. Clayton-Pedersen, and W.R. Allen. (1999). *Enacting Diverse Learning Environments: Improving the Climate for Racial/Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education.* ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report, Vol. 26, No. 8. Washington, DC: The George Washington University, Graduate School of Education and Human Development.

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Solórzano, D., and O. Villalpando. (1998). "Critical Race Theory, Marginality, and the Experience of Minority Students in Higher Education." In *Emerging Issues in the Sociology of Education: Comparative Perspectives,* edited by C. Torres and T. Mitchell, pp. 211-224. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Spencer, M., G. Brookins, and W.R. Allen, eds. (1985). *Beginnings: The Social and Affective Development of Black Children.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Trent, W. (1991a). "Student Affirmative Action in Higher Education: Addressing Underrepresentation." In *The Racial Crisis in American Higher Education,* edited by P.G. Altbach and K. Lomotey, pp. 207-34. Albany: State University of New York Press.

———. (1991b). "Focus on Equity: Race and Gender Differences in Degree Attainment, 1975-76; 1980-81." In *College in Black and White: African American Students in Predominantly White and in Historically Black Public Universities,* edited by W.R. Allen, E.G. Epps, and N.Z. Haniff, pp. 41-59. Albany: State University of New York Press.

* * *

Annotated Bibliography

This annotated bibliography is focused broadly on pathways to academic success among students of color. Although the bibliography is directed primarily at the undergraduate college years, several sources acknowledge the value of more holistic, comprehensive, developmental approaches to college success. In this broader perspective, college success is clearly founded upon K-12 educational experiences; in turn, undergraduate college experiences provide the pretext for success in graduate and professional education and in postcollege careers.

The bibliography is selective, emphasizing sources that provide extensive, supplemental reviews of the published literature about theory, research, practices, and policies enhancing academic success among students of color. Certainly these sources provide essential information for students, researchers, teachers, parents, institutions, and policymakers who are concerned with improving educational performance and outcomes for students of color and with eliminating persistent race, ethnic, gender, and class achievement gaps at all educational levels.

— W.R.A.

Adams, H.G. (1990). "Successfully Negotiating the Graduate School Process: A Guide for Minority Students." Notre Dame, IN: National Consortium for Graduate Degrees for Minorities in Engineering and Science.

> Written especially for minority students (American Indians, African Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans) who are contemplating pursuing advanced degrees, this guide offers important information needed and required for going to graduate school.

——— . (1992). "Mentoring: An Essential Factor in the Doctoral Process for Minority Students." Notre Dame, IN: National Consortium for Graduate Degrees for Minorities in Engineering and Science.

> This article focuses on a key feature of graduate education: the unique relationship between the faculty adviser and doctoral student. Concentrating on various aspects of this mentor/protégé alliance, the article addresses how — in the case of minority students — mentoring is a significant, if not crucial, factor in determining success or failure in the completion of a doctoral program.

——— . (1993). "Making the Grade in Graduate School: Survival Strategy 101." Notre Dame, IN: National Center for Graduate Education for Minorities, National Consortium for Graduate Degrees for Minorities in Engineering and Science.

> Based on more than 25 years of experience in higher education, this guide provides vital information for students wishing to pursue doctoral degrees. It is especially helpful in outlining the path through which graduate students must navigate to skillfully and successfully earn a doctoral degree. The guide is an important resource for counselors, faculty advisers, mentors, and administrators who are interested in improving the retention and graduation rates of minority graduate students.

Allen, W.R. (1988). "Improving Black Student Access and Achievement in Higher Education." *Review of Higher Education* 11(4): 403-416.

> Profound changes have occurred in black student patterns of college attendance in the United States, but black college students face a crisis in terms of enrollment and persistence rates. This paper looks at three student outcomes — academic performance, racial attitudes, and college sat-

isfaction — and compares conclusions in the literature with those of a national study of black students. It explores relationships between student outcomes, student background characteristics, the nature of student experiences on the campus, and the student's particular personality orientation.

———. (1991). "Of Rodney King, Anita Hill and April 29: Toward Justice, Equality and Unity in the Academy." *UCLA Journal of Education* 4/5: 233-251.

This essay represents reflections about and interpretations of events leading up to and flowing from the April 29, 1992, rebellion. In particular, it attempts to address the implications held by the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings, the Rodney King verdict, and the Los Angeles uprising for U.S. higher education.

———. (1998). "'And Who Shall Control Their Minds?': Race Consciousness and Collective Commitments Among African American Students." In *African American Culture and Heritage in Higher Education Research and Practice*, edited by K. Freeman, pp. 59-74. Westport, CT: Praeger.

This chapter looks at collective consciousness and commitments among African American students in institutions of higher education in the United States for answers to the questions of who controls the minds of college-educated blacks. Data used are from a national study of 1,500 African American undergraduates attending historically black colleges and universities and predominantly white institutions. Race consciousness and collective commitments are considered as related to student family background, personal characteristics, and campus experiences.

———. (1999). "Missing in Action: Race, Gender and Black Students' Educational Opportunities." In *Black Men on Race, Gender, and Sexuality: A Critical Reader*, edited by D.W. Carbado, pp. 194-211. New York: New York University Press.

This essay reports findings from a study of how African American students are faring in U.S. colleges and universities, as well as black students' high school graduation rates, college enrollment rates, and college attrition rates. These findings illustrate that, although African American students have made some advances in education, there is still a great deal of progress to be made.

Allen, W.R., and J.O. Jewell. (1995). "African American Education Since *An American Dilemma:* An American Dilemma Revisited." *Daedalus* 124(1): 77-100.

Gunnar Myrdal's 1944 study, *An American Dilemma*, identified education as the key factor in racial equality for African Americans. Since 1944, blacks have nearly achieved the same rates of literacy, school enrollment, and median years of schooling as whites, and school segregation is no longer legal. Inequities continue in the quantity and quality of black education, however, and African Americans have not achieved full membership in U.S. society.

——— . (2002). "A Backward Glance Forward: Past, Present and Future Perspectives on Historically Black Colleges and Universities." *Review of Higher Education* 25(3): 241-261.

> For African Americans, the centuries-old struggle for access and parity in higher education has been emblematic of their larger fight for equality and group recognition in America. As direct outgrowths of this struggle, historically black colleges and universities embody the African American quest for education and are now presented with new challenges as well as opportunities for growth and change. This article looks at the past, present, and future of HBCUs, examining the contributions, key issues, challenges, and trends in their development.

Allen, W.R., and D.G. Solórzano. (2001). "Affirmative Action, Educational Equity, and Campus Racial Climate: A Case Study of the University of Michigan Law School." *Berkeley La Raza Law Journal* 12(2): 237-363.

> The report discusses results from a multimethod case study of campus race and gender climate conducted at the University of Michigan Law School and at selected undergraduate feeder institutions. Not surprisingly, Allen and Solórzano found that campus racial climates in general were often hostile and, as a result of common practices, attitudes, and interactions, black and Chicano-Latino students experienced systematic academic disadvantages. Students of color were also disadvantaged culturally, socially, and psychologically by campus climates that privileged whites. The study also found that in the University of Michigan Law School, women and Asian American students experienced academic, social, and psychological disadvantages caused by white and male privilege and entitlement. The report confirms not only the existence of persistent, extensive, and debilitating discrimination against women and students of color in higher education but also the need for affirmative action in maintaining education as the essential foundation of democracy.

Allen, W.R., M. Bonous-Hammarth, and R. Teranishi. (2002). *Stony the Road We Trod: The Black Struggle for Higher Education in California*. Los Angeles: CHOICES: Access, Equity and Diversity in Higher Education, UCLA.

> This report addresses the persistent underrepresentation of African Americans in California's postsecondary institutions and provides detailed empirical data on the status of African Americans in California higher education. Despite suggestions by some that the negative effects of Proposition 209 on college opportunity for blacks, Latinos, and other underrepresented groups have been minimized by innovative, determined efforts on the part of California's colleges and universities, the fact remains that black male and black female overall college enrollments declined from

1990 to 1999 in California's public universities. This report encourages public policy to address the continuing denial of educational opportunities for black and other underrepresented students.

Allen, W.R., E.G. Epps, and N.Z. Haniff, eds. (1991). *College in Black and White: African American Students in Predominantly White and in Historically Black Public Universities*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

This book presents a number of articles based on the National Study of Black College Students, a series of nationwide surveys of black collegians undertaken in the first half of the 1980s. The surveys, involving more than 4,000 students attending eight predominantly white and eight traditionally black universities, gathered biographical, academic, and attitudinal information from undergraduate, graduate, and professional students.

Allen, W.R., D.M. Hunt, and D. Gilbert. (1997). "Race-Consciousness Academic Policy in Higher Education: The University of Maryland Banneker Scholars Program." *Educational Policy* 11(4): 443-478.

This research was undertaken in conjunction with the efforts of the University of Maryland-College Park to respond to litigation in the case of *Podberesky v. Kirwan* (1993), which challenged the constitutional right of the university to operate a scholarship program reserved exclusively for high-achieving African Americans. This study offers a broad-based assessment of the Benjamin Banneker Scholars Program, a key element in the university's plan for desegregation and increased student diversity.

Allen, W.R., M.B. Spencer, and C. O'Connor, eds. (2002). *African American Education: Race, Community, Inequality and Achievement — A Tribute to Edgar G. Epps*. London: JAI Press, Inc.

This volume considers African American education in the new millennium through the lens of the Chicago School tradition, which among other emphases stressed the optimistic view that all children who do not have serious physical or emotional impairments can do well in school if provided access to effective teachers, sufficient resources, and adequate opportunities to learn. On the occasion of Professor Edgar G. Epps's retirement from the University of Chicago, this book includes contributions from several generations of scholars influenced by his work to celebrate his career and contributions to educational research, policy, and practice. The volume demonstrates how solutions can flow from educational research, theory, policy, and practices conducted in the Chicago School tradition.

Allen, W.R., E.G. Epps, E.A. Guillory, S.A. Suh, M. Bonous-Hammarth, and M.L.A. Stassen. (2002). "Outsiders Within: Race, Gender and Faculty Status in U.S. Higher Education." In *The Racial Crisis in American Higher Education: Continuing Challenges for the Twenty-First Century*, edited by W.A. Smith, P.G. Altbach, and K. Lomotey, pp. 189-220. Rev. ed. Albany: State University of New York Press.

> This study examines the status of people of color and women faculty in higher education and its relationship to access and success in the American professoriate. Comparing the characteristics, experiences, and achievement of people of color and female faculty with those of white and male faculty, it focuses on the opportunity structure, resources, and academic/nonacademic demands, as these factors are related to the entrance and advancement of people of color and women in the professoriate.

Bowen, W.G., and D. Bok. (1998). *The Shape of the River: Long-Term Consequences of Considering Race in College and University Admissions.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

> The authors studied how consideration of race-sensitive policies in college and university admissions affects — and in fact increases — the likelihood of blacks' being admitted to selective universities. The authors also compare the academic performance of these black students with their white classmates, their success in postcollege careers, and their active participation in civic and community affairs. The book reveals the effects of terminating race-sensitive policies to minority students at different kinds of selective institutions.

Carroll, G., and W.R. Allen, eds. (2001). *Knocking at Freedom's Door: Race, Equity, and Affirmative Action in U.S. Higher Education. Journal of Negro Education* (Special Issue) 69(1/2).

> Affirmative action programs, having proved highly effective in the past, are currently under attack because they make significant inroads against racial and patriarchal hierarchy. Conflict over national origin and racial disputes could, if not opposed by affirmative action, challenge the survival of democracy.

Chavez, L. (1998). *The Color Bind: California's Battle to End Affirmative Action.* Los Angeles: University of California Press.

> This book details the story of Proposition 209, the initiative passed by California voters in 1996 to prevent the state government from using affirmative action policies. Revealing the various complex motivations and tactics of individuals, organizations, and political parties involved, the author presents a comprehensive account of California's initiative and probes its national implications in shaping affirmative action in the United States.

Guinier, L., M. Finie, and J. Balin. (1997). *Becoming Gentlemen: Women, Law School, and Institutional Change.* Boston: Beacon Press.

> This book explores diversity in legal education, examining the meaning of becoming professionally qualified and what a reasonable educational goal might be. Findings are presented from a study of 981 male and female stu-

dents at the University of Pennsylvania Law School between 1987 and 1992.

Hurtado, S., J.F. Milem, A.R. Clayton-Pedersen, and W.R. Allen. (1998). "Enhancing Campus Climates for Racial/Ethnic Diversity: Educational Policy and Practice." *Review of Higher Education* 21(3): 279-302.

This paper presents a framework for understanding and describing the campus racial climate, providing useful information for policymakers, institutional leaders, and scholars of higher education seeking to create comfortable, diverse environments for learning and socializing that facilitate the intellectual and social developments of all students.

———. (1999). *Enacting Diverse Learning Environments: Improving the Climate for Racial/Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education.* ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report, Vol. 26, No. 8. Washington, DC: The George Washington University, Graduate School of Education and Human Development.

In a period when affirmative action and multiculturalism are being challenged and debated on campuses nationwide, this report is important for scholars, practitioners, and those who want to create programs that promote a diverse learning environment. It looks at factors — both internal and external — at an institution that impact the environment for diversity on campuses.

Lemann, N. (1999). *The Big Test: The Secret History of the American Meritocracy.* New York: Ferrar, Straus & Giroux.

A social history that explains the origins of standardized testing, this work also questions the value and premises of this inadequate system, as well as the moral and political condition of the United States today as a result of the great significance of the SAT.

Morris, A., W.R. Allen, D. Maurrasse, and D. Gilbert. (1995). "White Supremacy and Higher Education: The Alabama Higher Education Desegregation Case." *National Black Law Journal* 14(1): 59-91.

This article is based on expert witness testimony in the case of *Knight v. Alabama*, considering its legal, political, and social implications. It provides sociohistorical and empirical evidence in support of the plaintiffs' case. Although unique in its particulars, the *Alabama* case mirrors the fundamental issues raised by a host of other legal challenges to racially dual systems of higher educations in other states.

Orfield, G., and E. Miller, eds. (1998). *Chilling Admissions: The Affirmative Action Crisis and the Search for Alternatives.* Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University.

This volume documents and examines the struggles faced by U.S. institutions of higher education to address and resolve, if possible, the consequences of ending affirmative action on their campuses.

Rabow, J., T. Chin, and N. Fahimian. (1999). *Tutoring Matters: Everything You Always Wanted to Know About How to Tutor.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Embraced and endorsed by teachers, academics, and those who train tutors and operate tutoring programs, this guide presents firsthand experiences of more than 100 tutors and offers information on attitudes and anxieties, teaching techniques, and building positive and supportive relationships.

Takagi, D.Y. (1992). *The Retreat From Race: Asian-American Admissions and Racial Politics.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

This book discusses the use of affirmative action in the admissions process at elite American universities such as UC-Berkeley, UCLA, Brown, Stanford, Harvard, and Princeton and looks at the various attitudes about the use of affirmative action to help underprivileged minorities and how these attitudes changed during the late 1980s and 1990s.

Wightman, L.F. (1996). *Women in Legal Education: A Comparison of the Law School Performance and Law School Experiences of Women and Men.* Newtown, PA: Law School Admission Council.

This study provides national data on issues of gender differences in legal education. It also explores various factors as well as traditional predictors that might be connected to future academic performance and overall satisfaction in law school.

Zahorski, K.J., and R. Cognard. (1999). *Reconsidering Faculty Roles and Rewards: Promising Practices for Institutional Transformation and Enhanced Learning.* Washington, DC: Council of Independent Colleges.

This report relates the outcome when learning is placed at the center of faculty work. The Faculty Roles grant program was designed to foster institutional transformation to support learning; the 22 institutions that participated in the program made significant academic progress in bringing congruence between institutional missions and existing faculty roles and rewards structures.

Part Two

Efforts at the Disciplinary and Institutional Levels

ASA's MOST Program

Effecting Departmental Change to Build Excellent and Inclusive Sociology Departments

Carla B. Howery and Felice J. Levine

In 1994, the American Sociological Association (ASA), the national professional association for sociologists, embarked on an initiative called MOST — Minority Opportunities through School Transformation.[1] The essence of this initiative is to work with sociology departments that seek to reexamine how best to achieve excellence and inclusiveness in education (Levine 1993b). Supported by the Ford Foundation, the MOST program focuses on systemic change in five areas: curriculum, mentoring, research training, climate, and pipeline. The premise underlying MOST is that it takes an intentional, department-wide commitment to alter "business as usual" to meet the needs of a diverse student population and, in so doing, meet the needs of *all* students (Levine 1998a).

The MOST program is the successor project to what we now call *MOST I* — Minority Opportunities through Summer Training. That project operated from 1990 through 1993 as summer institutes dedicated to quality training and to attracting undergraduates of color to graduate education in sociology. In addition to course exposure, the MOST summer institutes emphasized research-based training and quality mentoring, both of which were key in developing substantive and methodological competencies in students and building a sense of excitement about the doing of sociology. Such summer institutes were, and can be, highly successful (approximately 45 percent of the students from the early cohorts went on to graduate school in the social sciences and most in sociology). As important, the MOST I project showed the gains possible through much more *attention* and *intention* in education. Its successor — MOST II — seeks to take those insights and make them an everyday part of a department's life. It represents a major shift in focus from an emphasis on the enrichment of individual minority students to a focus on systemic change in the department.

This article describes the MOST II initiative and initial results from this department-wide effort. Over the years, MOST departments have wrestled with the contours of and challenges for the sociology major, including the gateway courses. Their efforts reveal the importance of the department as the locus of change and how early and repeated research training in sociology can strengthen the major and students' engagement in it. The article shares lessons from MOST departments that pertain to all departments aiming to build inclusive and excellent programs.

This article also identifies some challenges to minority recruitment, retention, and completion of lower-division gateway courses in sociology and how the principles and practices of MOST offer transportable models of change for other sociology (and nonsociology) departments. In particular, we emphasize how research experiences introduced early, with faculty mentors, provide especially effective training for students (see also Crawford et al. 1996). Minority (and majority) students are more likely to major, stay in the major, graduate, and be well-prepared professionals when departments take steps to offer solid gateway courses and early experiences in research (Levine 1993b; Howery 1997).

The Contours and Challenges of the Sociology Major

Sociology is a major in high demand (Levine 2001; Spalter-Roth 2000). Substantively, it addresses topics of interest and hooks students into thinking differently about their world. It also provides analytic and methodological skills for those engaged in studying this area — whether as a liberal art or for those attracted to graduate education in preparing for a professional career. Yet characteristics of the major itself pose challenges to sociology departments seeking to develop a responsive and rigorous curriculum. Furthermore, some of these characteristics disproportionately affect students of color.

- Students typically come to undergraduate sociology with little idea or an inaccurate idea of the field. If sociology is taught in high school, it is primarily taught in affluent suburban schools. To the extent that students of color are underrepresented in such schools, they may have no exposure or encouragement to learn about sociology.
- Sociology is a "major by recruitment," with few students declaring the major as freshmen and most declaring much later. Gateway courses become crucial points of "recruitment" to the major or even a minor. The late arrival of many majors makes it difficult to sequence courses and provide the developmental experiences students need to have.
- Gateway courses often consist of large heterogeneous groups of students, making it difficult for instructors to identify realistic course objectives.
- Many sociology courses, even in the upper division, have substantial numbers of nonmajors enrolled, limiting the likelihood of prior sociological and empirical training and making developmental experiences less likely.
- Students too often receive their exposure to scientific inquiry in the discipline late in the major and often in ways that are not well linked to earlier sociology coursework. Gateway courses rarely include much initiation to the research tradition in sociology.
- Sociology has tended to have a "horizontal" curriculum, with no pervasive agreement on which specialty subjects precede others and with little

sequencing of courses (either by design or by student practices).

In 1990, these very challenges led the ASA to issue a report entitled *Liberal Learning and the Sociology Major* (Eberts et al. 1990). This report, based on the work of an ASA task force, sought to specify the essential elements of the undergraduate curriculum and how to consider the sequencing of skills and substance to make for effective learning. Instead of suggesting a single, recommended curriculum for every department, the task force provided departments with a process for making decisions on goals, course offerings, and the logical connections between students' developmental experiences. Quite important, the task force also emphasized that a curriculum best evolves when the full department is engaged in making and implementing decisions.

Since 1990, progress has been made. Many departments have taken on curricular change as a project. Armed with *Liberal Learning*, departments have considered the substance, ordering, and conceptual and methodological rigor of their programs. Over the decade, student research experiences and capstone courses also became much more integral to the major. Nevertheless, the challenges observed at the beginning of the decade both remain today and were evident in 1994 when MOST was launched.

The Department as Locus for Change

In MOST, *intentional* and *sustainable* change focuses on the department as the locus for intervention. In all aspects of MOST, including the curriculum, the emphasis was and is on departments' reexamining how they do business and introducing innovations that have the potential for systemic change. Over time, the ASA has emphasized the importance of working with departments and their leaders (e.g., chairs, directors of graduate study) as the most effective way to enhance education in sociology (Levine 1993a, 1998b). Although enthusiastic and innovative individuals may be the catalyst for change, projects that are "owned" by an individual(s) are more likely to be transitory than those that are institutionalized as part of a larger set of goals. For example, the Boyer Commission report *Reinventing Undergraduate Education: A Blueprint for America's Research Universities* (1998) criticized the lack of systemic attention to research training and mentoring for undergraduates, even though exemplary mentors and exceptional experiences could be observed (see also Levine 1998b). MOST addresses this issue: It seeks to transcend reliance on the goodwill of a few through institutionalizing a broader collective commitment.

The MOST Program

When launched in 1994, the MOST program initially involved 18 departments of sociology (12 undergraduate departments and six Ph.D.-conferring departments)[2] selected on a competitive basis. Since 1999, the program has worked more intensively with 11 departments. Unlike other projects that provide enrichment experiences for *individual* minority students, MOST aims for department-wide change to enhance the education of all students of color and all majors more generally (Levine 1998a). The application process itself required that departments prepare a proposal that included a self-assessment in terms of diversity and substantive program and a specification of concrete goals and plans, especially in the five core areas of MOST: *curriculum, mentoring, research training, climate*, and *pipeline*. Within this framework, it was expected that each department would work intensively and systemically to introduce change consonant with its mission and resources.

MOST focuses on these five areas because they are critical elements in reaching diverse student populations, especially those who are first generation in higher education. MOST builds on the research literature that indicates that minority students are particularly at risk if they find a "chilly climate," a lack of mentoring and professional socialization, and a curriculum that does not speak to their experiences (Levine 1993b; Steele 2000). MOST also builds on the knowledge and experience (e.g., from MOST I and the ASA's minority fellowships) that the coupling of coursework with hands-on research experiences and effective mentoring can have a positive and sustained impact on the development of substantive and social skills in students and their level of engagement in education and learning.

In establishing the MOST program, the ASA took on the task and responsibility of leading this experiment in academic change. The purpose of MOST is not only to work with selected departments on how best to achieve excellence and inclusiveness but also to learn from these experiences to identify strategies and models that are transportable to other sociology departments and more generally to other departments in the arts and sciences. Changing practices in any domain of human action and interaction takes time, commitment, consensus building, risk taking, and social and material support. Especially in organizational and institutional settings, it takes intentionality and perseverance for a critical mass of individuals to redefine what they are doing, especially when there is no major problem or crisis instigating change.[3]

ASA seeks to create the conditions and provide the guidance and expertise where change can more readily happen in departments. Even at the outset in 1994, to commence the program ASA convened a workshop of MOST chairs and coordinators, which fast became an annual event. The purpose of these meetings (and a second one held at the ASA annual meeting in August) is to create a "safe haven" for formal and informal training, reflection, and problem solving. Essentially, a central part of the ASA national strategy was and is to make less formidable the process of change by engendering an affinity across MOST departments to work together; share innovations, strategies, and mechanisms for overcoming barriers; and receive common training and guidance in each of the core objectives of MOST. Although collegial in approach, the ASA's role and leadership presented itself through site visits, reverse site visits, technical assistance, training workshops, department-wide retreats, and monitoring through progress reports and annual plans.

In leading and coordinating the MOST program, ASA could draw on its programmatic strength and expertise on teaching and academic issues. ASA offers curriculum materials,[4] teaching and academic workshops,[5] technical assistance and consulting,[6] a journal *(Teaching Sociology)*, and many other resources. In addition to the direct work and guidance provided by its MOST team, the ASA was able to use these resources to enable departments to make changes in systemic and enduring ways.

Sociology and Gateway Courses

Sociology as a general-education discipline is faced with a challenging situation. On the plus side, as noted earlier, sociology is taught to thousands of students who are taking a gateway course to fulfill general-education requirements. Thus, sociology has the opportunity to attract potential minors and majors and to convey the sociological perspective and the excitement of scientific discovery (Gainen 1995) to neophytes. On the minus side, the large number of students enrolled and their very diverse abilities and motivations are barriers in the large-class environment to conveying the excitement or rigor of "doing sociology."

In embarking on MOST, selected departments recognized that they face the same challenges experienced by many sociology departments. The ASA's MOST team focused departments' attention on the gateway courses as the critical juncture in the curriculum — because of the significance of this exposure in attracting students to the substance and inquiry skills of sociology. Many MOST departments have worked over the years to transform the gateway courses to show the empirical side (qualitative and quantitative) of the discipline and the excitement of empirical discovery. Some have added lower-division research courses. Others have infused research experiences into lower-division "topics" courses, often by having students analyze secondary data or critique research reports.

Research Training — Early and Often

The pioneering efforts of MOST departments offer models for other sociology departments. In examining the sociology major across a range of institutional types, the ASA *Liberal Learning* Task Force noted that most departments require one or more courses in theory and one or more in research methods and statistics. Almost every undergraduate program in sociology has a methods sequence, usually with at least two courses. These courses generally are recommended for late sophomore or early junior years. A transcript analysis undertaken by the task force showed that these courses are often taken later, sometimes in the senior year, because students declare their sociology major late and fear the quantitative material in research methods and statistics courses.

Because majors are taking a wide range of courses before the research methods sequence, students often do not develop any research skills or see the connections between the research enterprise and the substance of their course material. As a consequence, seeing research as a way of thinking and doing sociological work is disconnected from the rest of the major. Because lower-division courses in many institutions tend to be large, with many nonmajors and much reliance on textbooks and lecture-based pedagogical approaches, students assimilate summaries (empirical generalizations) of social science rather than grasp the scientific process that produces the results.

For the past decade, the ASA has recommended that departments offer a more extensive, developmental sequence of research training (in courses, research practica, guided independent study, and research assistantships on projects). *Liberal Learning and the Sociology Major* (Eberts et al. 1990) recommends scientific literacy as a key curricular goal that must pervade the major early and often. Over the years, more and more departments are seeking to integrate inquiry skills and processes into their courses. Through the increased use of computer technology and the expanded and easy access to public use data sets (including through the Internet), departments can now expose students in gateway courses to framing a sociological question, developing a researchable idea, and analyzing and evaluating the quality of data.

Central to MOST is that each department developed plans to enhance gateway courses and to consider the development of research and inquiry skills early in the curriculum. In every case, attention was paid to minority students in gateway courses and thereafter to attracting and retaining them in the department. Each department worked on creating a more rigorous, sequenced, and appealing curriculum, often with tracks or specialties. Each department infused race, class, and gender in new and existing courses, as well as developed components for undergraduate research training. As a result of these improvements — verified by site visits — the sociology programs at all the MOST schools enhanced their quality.

Diversity and Excellence Go Hand in Hand

Core to MOST is a commitment to organizational change (at the departmental level) that can enhance excellence and inclusiveness (Levine 1993a, 1993b, 1998a). Whether in educational or work settings, the beneficial effects of inclusive strategies are clear. In *The Realities of Affirmative Action in Employment*, Reskin (1998) summarizes a substantial body of research on the effects of affirmative action policies. Essentially, the effect of affirmative action policies is twofold: A more level playing field increases the participation and retention of minorities in employment, and such policies provide a stronger workforce generally.

MOST embodies the belief that diversity and excellence go hand in hand and that MOST departments have much to gain more generally through intentional outreach and support for minority students. By improving climate and curriculum, offering strong mentoring, and establishing opportunities for research training, MOST departments are poised to reach out to and retain students (and faculty) of color. All students in the department benefit from such improvements, both from what is being offered and from an educational exposure that connects inclusivity and excellence.

Many departments, for example, have greatly increased the number of students (minority and majority) going on to graduate and professional school. Others have more students who receive awards, funding, or other acclaim for academic performance while engaging in the major. Departments notice that students are recruited earlier to the major and that stronger students are recruited to the department than in pre-MOST years. MOST departments show clear results in increased numbers of majors, students making professional presentations, and majors going on to graduate work.

Table 1 on the next page sets forth the basic challenges to any sociology department in rethinking excellence and inclusiveness and how each is addressed through the five MOST goals. Systemic and sustainable change in departments is key. In the next section, we provide examples of promising practices from MOST departments in all five arenas.

MOST Goals and Illustrative Accomplishments

CURRICULUM

A core goal of MOST was to have departments revise the curriculum to reflect increased rigor of scientific methods, direct research experience, and the substantive integration of race, class, and gender (Levine 1993b). In committing to participate in MOST, each department was expected to examine its curriculum in terms of the inclusion of scholarship on race, class, and gender; course sequencing to ensure increasingly rigorous intellectual experiences; and the penetration of research skills throughout the curriculum.

MOST departments adopted different strategies to pursue this review and to make changes. Some departments undertook a full curriculum review; others targeted review and introduced change on specific issues over time. In almost all departments, considerable change is evident. Every MOST department undertook a pruning of its curriculum and a look at sequencing. Departments deleted courses that had not been taught or that did not fit in their current curriculum. In some cases, they added courses to bring coherence or sequencing to student learning.

Table 1

Challenges Particularly Acute for Entry-Level Minority Students, and Changes Made (Lessons) to Address Those Challenges

Little exposure to sociology in high school or understanding of the field; hard to plan a set of courses

MOST goal: Curriculum
Lesson: More inclusive and thus intellectually rich courses
Curricular coherence

Uneven mentoring, too dependent on student initiative and social capital

MOST goal: Mentoring
Lesson: More effective, systemic mentoring where no one falls through the cracks
Professional socialization is intentional

Research training is spotty; unconnected to the rest of the courses in the major; students do not see relevance of research

MOST goal: Research training
Lesson: Early and repeated exposure to research in a coherent developmental sequence, including faculty-student projects

Unwelcoming department or cooling out

MOST goal: Climate
Lesson: Social and professional activities that include all students

No connections made between lower-division courses and careers using sociology

MOST goal: Pipeline
Lesson: Attention to lower-level, gateway courses to enhance early recruitment

Table 2 on the next page illustrates this transformation by comparing course syllabi in 1993 (before the inception of MOST) with 2000 in five MOST departments. In each of these prototypical cases, there was greater attention to the inclusion of issues of race, class, and gender in the curriculum over time. Also, beyond the required methods courses, the curriculum of 2000 incorporated much more research experience in classes, including in the gateway courses.

At University of California-Santa Barbara, the department added new lower-division courses that placed substantial emphasis on issues relating to race, ethnicity, multiculturalism, and diversity: Sexuality, Race, Gender, and Class; Discrimination in Organizations; Women, Culture, and Development; and African Americans and "Other" Americans of Color: Towards Conflict or Cooperation? In addition, since the inception of MOST, faculty members have substantially revised courses to integrate diversity issues more effectively. New material has penetrated not only courses such as Sociology of Revolutions and Sociology of the Urban Underclass, where it might be expected, but also introductory courses in core areas such as Social Psychology, Sociology of Law, Analysis of Conversational Interaction, and Socialization. Courses in these subject areas are now much more inclusive of issues of race and ethnicity, social class, and gender and much more effectively convey the relevance of sociology to *lived experience* in these gateway courses. Course syllabi reveal additions of new readings, active learning assignments, and explicit attention to race, class, and gender.

Other important curriculum developments reflected an emphasis on issues of diversity and on research exposure. At University of Nebraska-Lincoln, the department developed a new two-semester course called Doing Sociology open only to sociology majors who had completed the required methods sequence. Although the faculty member directing the course each year (with the assistance of a graduate student) shapes the focus, the fundamental objective from year to year is to provide students with a substantive core of knowledge and the opportunity to review and refine their skills through an extensive applied research experience. At Texas A&M University, a department known for its specialty in demography, several courses were added or more regularly taught to enhance attention to race, class, and gender, including Global Social Trends, Introduction to Gender and Society, and Sociology of Black Americans. In addition, faculty put more emphasis on research experiences in such introductory-level courses as Population and Society and Urban Sociology. Also, Texas A&M established three certificate programs to organize the undergraduate course offerings: Race and Ethnic Relations, Gender, and Global Sociology.

Many MOST departments also added or substantially revised a capstone course as a requirement for the major. At Pennsylvania State University, the capstone course is typically taken in the senior year following training in statistics, research methods, and substantive sociology. The course includes for each student a research project that requires the integration of substantive knowledge and

Table 2

Courses in Curriculum Including Diversity and Research Experience: Comparison of Fall Semester 1994 and 2000 or Academic Years 1993-4 and 2000-1. Five Illustrative MOST Departments

	Courses Offered	Include Diversity	Include Research (in non-methods courses)
Grinnell			
Fall 1993	6	4	0
Fall 2000	8	5	5
Penn State			
Fall 1993	38	15	7
Fall 2000	42	29	10
Pitzer			
AY1993-4	30	7	7
AY2000-1	29	23	20
Southwestern			
Fall 1993	9	1	0
Fall 2000	12	3	3
University of Puerto Rico-Mayaguez			
AY1993-4	30	6	2
AY2000-1	29	23	20

methodological skills. At Pitzer College,[7] the senior seminar puts substantial emphasis on the craft of doing research. In the 2000-2001 academic year, students were required to write a grant proposal for an existing community organization as the capstone project. The project involved all facets of preparing a research or program grant proposal, from documenting the significance of the chosen problem or project, setting forth specific objectives or hypotheses, and identifying appropriate funding sources and using their guidelines through all aspects of research design, proposal writing, budget preparation, and oral presentation of the proposed work (with representatives from the community organizations present) after completion of the written proposal.

MENTORING

Higher education applauds the value of mentoring for enhancing students' learning and development, but in actual practice, mentoring is uneven and too dependent on student initiative and social capital. Women and minorities are less likely to find and use mentors and accrue the important benefits of mentoring (Dixon-Reeves 2001; LaVant, Anderson, and Tiggs 1997). Key to MOST is to see mentoring as the responsibility of faculty for all majors and to enhance department-wide strategies of mentoring students. The MOST program urged departments to address the inclusiveness and the quality of mentoring and to develop systemic mentoring programs to ensure the mentoring of *all* students (Levine 1993a, 1993b; Levine and Rodriguez 1997).

In aiming for departments to develop a systematic mentoring plan, the MOST program did not intend a one-size-fits-all solution, for either departments or students (Levine and Rodriguez 1997). As with other aspects of MOST, the underlying premise is that MOST departments should consider structures and strategies that enhance the value departments place on mentoring, can reach students, and be sustained. Essentially, it calls for a shift of the culture in a department to see teacher as mentor both inside and outside the classroom (see also Enerson 2001; Scisney-Matlock and Matlock 2001).

The MOST program emphasizes the important role of mentoring in developing students' knowledge and understanding of sociology, their intellectual and social skills, and their professional identity. In considering systemic approaches, MOST departments reexamine the nature of advising students, develop department-wide professional development opportunities, link mentoring to research experiences for students, and experiment with other forms of individual- and group-level mentoring relationships. A premise of MOST is that department-wide plans and greater coordination can help to refine goals and ensure that all majors are reached.

MOST departments were and are all engaged in serious reflection and innovation to provide enhanced mentoring for students individually and as a group. The sociology department at William Paterson University[8] engages all faculty in advising and mentoring. Each faculty member is assigned 75 to 85 students as advisees and meets with each student several times during an academic year. During these visits for routine course selection advice, faculty seize the opportunity to mentor students on their professional growth, including opportunities for independent study, fellowships, professional presentations, funding, employment, and so forth. In this commuter school environment, the department seeks ways to build a sense of community among its 800-plus majors and 17 faculty members. Also, group-mentoring strategies have been invoked to foster professional identity and skills in students. For example, the "Crunch and Munch" colloquium series features faculty presentations on research topics of interest to students. Outside a classroom environment, students learn about the nature of faculty research and more readily relate to faculty excitement about the field.

At Grinnell College,[9] the MOST department has built upon the close engagement of faculty with students as well as faculty involvement in advising to strengthen and rethink the mentoring role. The department has developed mini-mentoring opportunities. For example, the department has introduced a "practicum" seminar course for all students taking internships as part of their major as a framework for enhancing the rigor of the internship but also for institutionalizing mentoring "moments" about these professional development experiences. As with many MOST departments, Grinnell has also embraced the value of linking mentoring to student research. While at Grinnell, students rarely stayed on campus over the summer; with the launch of MOST,[10] students have elected to participate in funded summer internship opportunities, which have taken the form of faculty-student team projects where students are mentored through a guided research experience and are engaged in all facets of research as part of a collaborative team.

With 500 majors and seven faculty, the department at Augusta State University[11] has also developed multiprong mentoring strategies and, as a department, puts considerable emphasis on mentoring responsibilities. This department has focused on mentoring in research as well as in teaching. In addition to faculty members' working with many students in guided research, the department has developed extracurricular faculty-student research groups (sometimes as the outgrowth of a course). Most visible is the "Moral Maximalist" group that grew out of an Urban Social Problems class and a workshop on environmental injustices. This group, including three faculty and over time 12 students, met biweekly on Saturdays to read literature, provide oversight to student research, and provide mutual support and guidance. In the teaching arena, Augusta State introduced a teaching practicum in which upper-class undergraduates learn about the craft, importance, and excitement of teaching through working closely with a faculty member in an apprentice teacher role. The apprentice has assigned readings, may undertake research connected to the teaching role, makes presentations, and has considerable informal mentoring as well as formal guidance from the faculty member.

RESEARCH TRAINING

From the outset, MOST emphasized the value of hands-on research experiences for students under the guidance of faculty mentors to develop skills and knowledge and to attract them to careers as sociologists and future faculty (Levine 1993b).[12] As previously described, research training in many departments is spotty, and even in terms of the formal curriculum, the research sequence is typically unconnected to the rest of the coursework. Thus, students, particularly beginning students, often do not see the relevance of research to the major or to many of their interests in "changing society." MOST departments have worked to intentionally integrate research training into the sociology curriculum, starting with the gateway courses, as well as into the cocurriculum. Indeed, because of the value of research experiences and quality mentoring to students, in 1997 the MOST program further encouraged departments to experiment with innovations that would explicitly link the two (Levine and Rodriguez 1997).

As the results from MOST are coming in, we see a strong connection between research experiences and retention of minority sociology majors. The research context — working together on an exciting project — lends itself to quality mentoring. Students feel more connected to the department and to the field of sociology. Students who undertake research projects often make professional presentations at on- and off-campus conferences, further cementing their attraction to and identification with the field. Finally, research is an exciting, creative process. It engages students in asking interesting questions and finding answers, sometimes about phenomena relevant to their lives.

At Southwestern University, the department has revised the curriculum and has sequenced *all* its courses, enforcing key prerequisites. Because the university has primarily a residential population who complete their degrees in four years, the department was able to look at course offerings in terms of a freshman tier, a sophomore tier, and so on (Kain 1999). Courses in each tier have common research goals. For example, every course with a freshman number must include some library research for empirical material. Every sophomore course must include data retrieval from a secondary data source. These common requirements do not limit the ways that a faculty member teaches nor the materials he or she uses. Having a department agreement does ensure that students will have research exposure throughout the major, regardless of what courses they take, and that their experiences will be developmentally sequenced, leading to a senior capstone where students conduct an independent research project. The payoff in terms of professional engagement is evident at Southwestern. In 1999-2000, five of 14 majors made presentations at professional meetings, and four went on to graduate and professional school. Before the MOST program, these numbers were close to zero.

The Department of Social Sciences at the University of Puerto Rico-Mayaguez gives considerable attention to research training of students. Through the presence of the Center for Applied Research, this department has been able to provide research experiences with mentors who have enhanced the skills and role competencies of students. Beyond course and class, the department has encouraged independent study, research assistantships, and summer research experiences. As part of this process, the department firmly established an undergraduate student research symposium.[13] This annual symposium, the only one of its kind in Puerto Rico, now attracts students from Puerto Rico and the mainland to present papers and participate in poster sessions. Students are responsible for planning and running all aspects of the conference, including selection of papers, with a faculty mentor. As this university campus heavily focuses on physical science and engineering, this symposium provides an important opportunity to showcase well-trained students in the social sciences with colleagues and administrators who routinely attend.

The sociology department at the University of California-Santa Barbara (UCSB) has an embarrassment of riches — more than 800 majors! Equally as important, since the inception of MOST, students of color in the major increased from 33 percent in 1994-95 to 46 percent in 2000-01. During this time, the leadership in the department worked on devising pervasive strategies for providing research training to better reach majors generally and targeted strategies to train and mentor minority students.

Beyond exposing students to elements of research methods and data analysis in introductory courses, the UCSB department offers follow-up seminars to substantive upper-division courses, where students receive research training related to that subject, from design and data collection through the writing of a report. For example, a course in conversational analysis is followed the next quarter by a research seminar where students have a research immersion experience. Students may take the first course without the second, of course, but those who are engaged by the topic and want to better understand the craft of research underlying the substance can enroll in the research seminar.

The department introduced a two-year program more specifically directed to majors of color in 1997, with students taking a three-quarter seminar (called MOST Research Training in Sociology) culminating in a research proposal during the first year and, in the second year, engaging in research under the guidance of a mentor. Important to the success of this sequence in research training is creating a cohort of students (students are not only in this sequence but also in other courses together) and providing each student with a faculty and graduate student mentor in addition to the course instructor. Although the first course in the first-year sequence focuses on theoretical and methodological perspectives in sociology, even at the outset considerable attention is devoted to issues of research. Even with a large number of majors, the proportion of students of color is small. With a seminar sequence geared to these students, they not only become engaged with the work of sociology and skilled at it but also see themselves as part of a learning and professional community where they are comfortable and feel they belong.

CLIMATE

From the outset, the MOST program aimed to have departments examine climate and make explicit what is often seen to be a subtle and even intangible feature of a department's life (Levine 1993b). In many respects, department climate became an intentional element of MOST because the hidden curriculum of a department can define whether it is a supportive and encouraging learning community. Moreover, unless such support is provided department-wide, those students who are less assertive or experienced in developing opportunities can readily be left behind.

With climate, as with other areas of MOST innovation, there is no one-size-fits-all approach. Student sociology clubs, brown bag presentations from students and faculty members, speakers, and social events for faculty and students can all contribute to the quality of the environment. For example, departmental sessions on professional development topics ranging from making the most of an internship and getting into graduate school to making a presentation and preparing a resume not only impart skills and knowledge but also signal to students that faculty are accessible as mentors and models.

Each MOST department reflected on department-wide plans that could be put in place appropriate to its resources, mission, and institutional type. The department at William Paterson University, for example, put considerable emphasis on a "place" where students could gather, talk, and develop an identity as sociology students. In this commuter school environment, the department sought ways to build a sense of community among its substantial number of majors. The department designated a room as the MOST lounge and furnished it with comfortable chairs and several computers. Quickly it became the place to be and a location where students of color who are particularly facile in computer use can share those skills with others.

University of Texas at El Paso also addressed climate rather intentionally in terms of form and function. This MOST department was in the fortunate position of remodeling one of the most desirable vintage buildings on campus as the location for the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. It seized that opportunity to rethink how to maximize students' integration into department life and how to facilitate professional growth and development. With a student population largely from the local area, many of whom work and have substantial family responsibilities, the department sought to use the space to encourage informal student-student and student-faculty exchange. In the design of space and in the allocation of resources, a large student area with computers was created in a location where faculty offices encircled the students. Well beyond any interaction that might have occurred based on only classroom experience, students working and talking in this environment increasingly sought out faculty and over time became involved with faculty as research assistants and in supervised independent projects.

At Pitzer College, the field group in sociology[14] is dedicated to engendering a supportive climate and assessing ways to enhance the quality of learning and student life. Attention to climate is reflected in the formal curriculum. For example, sociology faculty are among those most centrally involved in Pitzer's service-learning courses and projects — with the consequence that this service-learning is not only more relevant to sociological education but also shows sociology faculty as supportive of students' interests in and commitment to the larger community. Climate is a priority that pervades the structure, activities, and daily life of the field group. For example, student representatives are included and play an active role in sociology field group meetings. A monthly "meet the faculty" luncheon series and an annual faculty-alumni-student dinner are held. An annual book retreat (with the author) is held for sociology concentrators (that is, majors) in a location — Descanso Gardens — supportive of reflection and open exchange. This daylong retreat provides a context for faculty and students to consider not only the doing of sociology (through discussion of a book) but also other issues important to the field group as a community.

PIPELINE

Key to doing MOST is not only doing the most that sociology can to promote an excellent and inclusive education (Levine 1998a) but also expanding the reach and diversity of those who are pursuing sociology. Enhancing the participation of students of color in the discipline and their presence in teaching and research has long been a goal of the American Sociological Association. The MOST program provides an opportunity for departments to consider strategies to attract students to the gateway courses and beyond.

The sociology department at Texas A&M University has pursued multiple strategies of outreach to attract both students to sociology as a major and undergraduate majors to pursue graduate study in sociology. Both the department head and undergraduate adviser, for example, reach out to students who have been accepted by Texas A&M and who reported sociology as a likely major to tell them what the program and university have to offer. Special efforts are made in the case of minority students. The department also participates in the Center for Academic Excellence program, which brings interested high school juniors and seniors to campus for part of the summer. Minority graduate students in the department help in the department's effort to attract undergraduate and graduate students of color. The department also has made a major commitment to diversity through its leadership role in major programs. With support from the National Science Foundation (NSF), the department holds eight-week summer institutes for undergraduates in the Texas A&M university system (predominantly at minority institutions) as part of the NSF Alliance for Participation in the Social and Behavioral Science program and the NSF Research Experiences for Undergraduates. In the spirit of MOST, these efforts reflect a broad and sustained commitment in the sociology department to partner with other institutions to enhance the pipeline.

At University of Nebraska-Lincoln, the sociology department also plays a leadership role in outreach. The university operates a program called the Alpha Learning Community Freshman Seminar. This is a one-year course for first-year undergraduates; the sociology department has offered a seminar in this program over the past several years. The seminar offered by the department focuses on diversity; in addition to this substantive focus, it aims to show students how research can be informative in dealing with fundamental issues of social inequality and social policy. In playing an important role in this university-wide program, the department seeks to help the university retain entering students (the dropout rate has been high), in particular students of color, and also to attract more students and students of color to the major. In terms of all three goals, this MOST department has successfully contributed to the university's and the discipline's commitment to enhance the pipeline.

At University of Puerto Rico-Mayaguez (UPRM), the department faces a different type of challenge — attracting students to the social sciences. UPRM is known primarily as an engineering and physical science institution for Latinos and Latinas. The Department of Social Sciences has sought to raise the visibility of its program and to convey the quality of the education and training in social science. The newly introduced Certification Program in Applied Social Research not only exemplifies the success of MOST in research training but also provides an effective way of showcasing to students early in their undergraduate careers the rigor of education in the social sciences. Also, the department and the Center for Applied Research participate directly in university outreach initiatives hand in hand with engineering and the physical sciences. For example, the department and the center are active in recruitment field trips to high schools to talk about the strengths of the university and the opportunities to pursue social science education and training. Such activities are effective in highlighting the science of sociology and the value of social science research in addressing engineering problems. This interdisciplinary department sends a message — reinforced early and often — about the importance of social science and the importance of interdisciplinary research and education.

Conclusion

The MOST program rests on the premise that *departments* are the most important locus for implementing and sustaining the kind of changes that are required to offer outstanding sociology education and training for students of color and *all* students. Attention to curriculum, mentoring, research training, climate, and pipeline has produced significant improvements for minority and majority students. Given the contours of the sociology curriculum at most colleges and universities, the gateway courses offer substantial challenges and opportunities:

☐ to show the empirical side of the field early and often;
☐ to engage students in research in a developmentally sequenced way;
☐ to express the sociological imagination through discussions of race, class, and gender; and
☐ to employ new ways of mentoring that engage more students.

The MOST program has shown the importance *and* the difficulty of working with departments as entities, an approach that attempts to swim against the tide of individual rewards and professional autonomy. The gains have been slow in coming, but the MOST departments that have persevered have seen important and lasting results that provide transportable models of change for others.

MOST has been an experiment in changing the organizational culture of sociology departments, with ambitions of developing transportable lessons beyond. Reflection and rethinking in higher education are necessary to better serve the next generation of students, support the next generation of faculty, and fundamentally change business as usual. MOST sociology departments show the importance of intentional change in achieving and linking inclusivity and excellence. Learning this lesson from MOST can make all our departments better and stronger.

Notes

1. The MOST program is made possible by grants from the Ford Foundation primarily directed to defray the costs of direct expenses of working with departments and providing seed money investments in department change (see Levine 1993a, 1993b; Levine and Rodriguez 1997). MOST is a joint activity of the ASA's Minority Affairs program and Academic and Professional Affairs program. A considerable portion of resources is allocated to departments to support students and student-related activities. The ASA gratefully acknowledges the support of the Ford Foundation under grants 089-1309-2 and 098-0190-2.

2. *Graduate institutions:* Michigan State University, Pennsylvania State University, Texas A&M University, University of California-Santa Barbara, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, University of Nebraska-Lincoln. *Undergraduate institutions:* Augusta State University, Grinnell College, Hampton Institute, LeMoyne-Owen College, Our Lady of the

Lake University, Pitzer College, Pomona College, San Jose State University, Southwestern University, University of Puerto Rico-Mayaguez, University of Texas at El Paso, and William Paterson University.

3. Sociologists know this well from their own research on social change and social movements.

4. A catalogue of materials is on the ASA homepage at www.asanet.org.

5. The ASA annual meeting, held in August, includes more than 20 workshops on teaching and 20 academic workshops on a range of issues designed to reexamine and strengthen how departments do their work.

6. The Department Resources Group is a network of 70 consultants with expertise in program reviews and specific areas in teaching and learning. They visit departments to lead workshops or review programs.

7. A small liberal arts college, part of the Claremont Colleges, in Pomona, California.

8. A comprehensive university in Wayne, New Jersey.

9. A small liberal arts college in Grinnell, Iowa.

10. MOST funds provide summer research stipends, and the college has funded additional students, as well.

11. A nonresidential comprehensive university in Augusta, Georgia.

12. See also Crawford et al. (1996) for more detail on how mentoring can occur in research settings.

13. See Scheuble (1991) for another example of an undergraduate research symposium.

14. At Pitzer College, the arts and sciences are organized into "field groups," including in sociology. It is the field group that provides education in sociology and trains majors and minors. Pitzer uses the term *field group* and not *department.*

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A Case Study of Departmental Change Aimed at Promoting the Success of Students of Color

Edward L. Kain

This paper presents a case study of how one department systematically worked to address issues of diversity and promote the success of students of color in its undergraduate sociology program.[1] It examines department-level change resulting from participation in the MOST (Minority Opportunities through School Transformation) program, funded by the Ford Foundation and administered through the American Sociological Association. Although the MOST grant provided external funding for some of the initiatives described in this paper, a number of the ideas and principles can be applied to other departments. The paper evaluates progress in the department over the initial years of MOST, reviews some successes and challenges related to the process of department transformation, and talks about six lessons that can help other programs interested in systematic change aimed at enhancing diversity in higher education and promoting the success of students of color. (A summary timeline appears at the end of this paper.)

This case study begins with the assumption that the most useful unit of analysis for planning and implementing change is the department. If the goal is to enhance the success of students of color in undergraduate sociology, then departments need to make systematic structural changes that will support students from the time they take an introductory course through graduation.

Setting the Stage

Before discussing department transformation, it is important to set the stage by providing background on the department and the MOST program. Southwestern University is a private liberal arts institution with approximately 1,300 undergraduates. The Department of Sociology and Anthropology has grown in recent years. Until the beginning of MOST, it had three full-time tenure-track faculty. Since that time, a new sociology position was added in 1993-94, and a new anthropology position was added in 1998-99, resulting in a department with five full-time tenure-track faculty members — three sociologists and two anthropologists. The department typically graduates 10 to 20 majors a year. In the spring semester of 2002, an anthropology major was approved as part of the curriculum. Until that point, students interested in that option created an independent major. During the past several years, we have annually graduated one or more students who have developed an anthropology major using this option.

The MOST program involves collaboration between a national professional organization, the American Sociological Association, and sociology departments at institutions across the country. This program's five interrelated core objectives provide the framework for presenting this case study in department change. The next section of the paper assesses department change when addressing issues of diversity and attempting to build a program that is supportive for students of color.

Assessing Departmental Change

CURRICULUM

The first major goal of the MOST program is transformation of the curriculum — "To evaluate and redesign the sociology curriculum in order to prepare diverse student populations for careers in sociology."[2] This is perhaps our greatest area of clear progress and change. The department first devoted its attention to curriculum transformation. All sociology faculty attended a national workshop on integrating diversity issues across the curriculum, which was followed by summer meetings. Curriculum transformation is institutionalized in our department as a continuous process. We have instituted an annual departmental retreat, part of which is devoted to examination of our courses and how we can continually increase the integration of race, class, gender, and diversity issues across the curriculum.

At least four central lessons were learned at the national workshop on integrating diversity issues into the curriculum. First, because we have a cumulative curriculum linked to a set of skills, it was important that a subset of these skills explicitly address issues of diversity. Second, issues of diversity need to be integrated into courses across the curriculum, ensuring that all students, no matter what set of courses they take, will be repeatedly exposed to the importance of race, class, and gender in the study of sociology. Third, all faculty need to be involved in curriculum transformation, and visiting faculty need to know the goals of the curriculum. Finally, curriculum transformation takes time.

Reflecting recommendations in Eberts et al. (1990), our curriculum in sociology has four levels of courses designed to develop a series of skills in students. These cumulative skills begin with those developed in the introductory courses. They are expanded in second- and third-level courses and culminate in the capstone experience consisting of a research seminar and the senior oral examination.

A number of these skills explicitly address issues of race, class, and gender as well as their intersections. For example, two of the skills listed for all introductory courses are that students should be able to develop (1) "critical thinking skills in which they formulate their own understanding of American society, how it works and how it is shaped by issues of power and privilege, and (2) an appreciation for the impact of race, class, and gender upon social life" (Kain 1999: 12; a complete discussion of this cumulative curriculum can be found there).

The department's goal is to integrate diversity issues into all courses across the curriculum, not just in courses specifically examining diversity (such as Race and Ethnic Relations, or Gender Relations and Sexuality). (See, for example, Eichstedt 1996; Heikes 1999; Lehman 1997; Marullo 1998; Obach 1999; Valdez and Halley 1999.) Whether syllabi explicitly include statements about issues of race, ethnicity, class, and gender in their lists of goals provides one way to assess progress in this area. Table 1 on the next page presents data on four semesters: (1) Spring 1993, the year before the MOST program and the beginning of our curriculum revisions; (2) Fall 1994, the first semester after beginning MOST but before attending a workshop in curriculum revision; (3) Fall 1995, the first semester after attending the national workshop and meeting during the summer to focus on curriculum transformation; and (4) Spring 1998, further along in the continuous process of curriculum transformation. A second way to measure curriculum transformation is the number of courses offered that specifically focus on issues of diversity. Data on both these measures are found in Table 1.

The first of these measures illustrates clear progress. After beginning the MOST program, the number of syllabi listing the study of diversity increased. This happened again after all sociologists in the department attended the workshop on integrating issues of diversity across the curriculum, followed by summer discussions on curriculum transformation. The increase continues as we move further into the period covered by the MOST program. The proportion of syllabi that explicitly list the study of diversity in their course goals (column 3 in Table 1) continued to increase. The number of courses specifically focusing on diversity topics (column 4 in Table 1) appears to be at a steady state in these semesters. When we examine patterns of course offerings by complete academic years, however, there has been an increase of an average of two courses per year, to an average of four courses per year that specifically focus on diversity topics. Further, expansion of the faculty in both sociology and anthropology has meant an increase from three to seven in the number of regularly offered courses listed in the college catalogue with a specific focus on diversity. This transformation is described in more detail in the next section about research training.

One barrier to curriculum transformation occurs when we hire part-time or temporary replacement faculty (for sabbatical leaves, faculty who are teaching in programs such as women's studies, etc.). We cannot be certain that diversity goals are integrated in their courses. Visiting faculty are now given a copy of the department handbook (Wilson, Lopez, and Kain 1996), which talks about course and curriculum goals. Giving them this handbook has helped address this problem to

Table 1
Course Syllabi and Diversity: 1993-1998

	Number of Courses		
Semester	**Total**	**Whose Syllabus Explicitly Lists "Study of Diversity" as a Course Goal***	**On the Topic of Race, Class, or Gender**
Spring 1993	9	2 (22%)	1
Fall 1994	10	4 (40%)	2
Fall 1995	9	5 (55%)	1
Spring 1998	9	6 (66%)	2

* For two courses, there was not an explicit list of course goals. An examination of sections of the course and readings was used to determine whether the study of diversity was one of the goals.

some extent. Nonetheless, the issue remains. (This is the reason that 1998 data are used as the final data point in Table 1. Between 1999 and 2001, faculty members were on sabbatical leave spanning three semesters, another had maternity leave for a semester, and another had a reduced load because of a grant. As a result, a particularly large number of temporary faculty taught in the program, and the data might not be representative.)

A second barrier to attaining this goal is that course and curriculum transformation takes time. The data clearly illustrate that, over time, the proportion of courses that have been transformed has increased. As has been the case in other departments (Powers 2000; Sherohman 1997), implementation of the guidelines on study in depth is cumulative, and we conceptualize the transformation as a continuous process. In August 1998, the department began having an annual retreat, during which we assess the progress on curriculum transformation and modify the department handbook to reflect continuing changes. A current area of curriculum development involves anthropology's modeling its curriculum on *Liberal Learning and the Sociology Major* (Eberts et al. 1990) as well as the goals of MOST. This process has begun, with our two new anthropology faculty beginning work on the project at the 1998 retreat. Their work will be included in the updated department handbook.

RESEARCH TRAINING

A second central goal of the MOST program is research training: "To provide all students with hands-on research experience under the guidance of faculty mentors." Indeed, participation in research can be an effective tool for mentoring students of color and getting them interested in pursuing graduate study (Crawford et al. 1996). Research experience can also increase students' interest in issues such as inequality and stratification (Misra 1997).

The department used a zero-based curriculum strategy to ensure that all students, irrespective of their course choice and sequencing, would be exposed to a cumulative set of diverse research skills and activities. All majors must take a research methods course involving data collection and analysis. Courses throughout the curriculum involve students in research projects. In addition, all graduating seniors must take a capstone course that requires individual research. The department also encourages students to work on research with faculty members. Specific curricular requirements and examples of research training are found in Kain (1999).

All the 1997 graduating cohort of students had done independent research or worked with a faculty member on research beyond that in the regular curriculum. Seven sociology majors graduated in 1999. Five of them had one-on-one research experience with a faculty member beyond their regular coursework, and the remaining two did internships in areas related to their professional goals. It is a laudable goal for all students to have independent research beyond the regular curriculum, but it is less workable in years when a large number of seniors is graduating. Even if students do not do individual research beyond their courses, as outlined above, we have created a curriculum that ensures that *all* graduating majors will have had multiple research experiences where they collect and analyze data linked to theoretical literature. At least six of the 15 graduating seniors in 2000 presented research papers at national and/or regional professional meetings before graduating. At least two more worked on research with faculty members, and at least one did multiple internships.

One way that we have ensured research activity for all our students is by expanding the research methods course to a four-hour course with a lab. (See Cover 1995 for a description of this type of model for teaching research methods.) All students participate in a variety of research experiences, including secondary data analysis using the GSS and SPSS, content analysis, interview/questionnaire design, analysis of existing statistics, and historical/comparative analysis. In 1998, the methods course helped collect and analyze data for a community police survey in 27 neighborhoods. In 1999, students collected data about curricular requirements in seven different fields at the top 80 national liberal arts schools.

Starting in summer 1999, an extension of the MOST grant allowed us to involve students in summer on-campus research experiences, including a survey of minority alumni and a mentoring research project. Funding from the MOST grant was supplemented by money from the Office of Alumni and Parent Relations, which sponsored the Minority Alumni Survey. Students in the summer 2000 program did anthropological fieldwork in both Mexico and Belize. These summer research programs allow many opportunities for mentoring, the next goal of the MOST program.

MENTORING

MOST also has a central goal of mentoring: "To build department-wide mentoring systems that can enhance students' intellectual and social skills and develop their professional identity." One concrete indication of the institutionalization of mentoring is our development of a departmental student handbook (Wilson, Lopez, and Kain 1996). This handbook includes information about internships and summer research programs, descriptions of our cumulative curriculum, tips on applying to graduate programs, and contact information for top graduate programs in sociology and related fields such as anthropology, urban studies, and social work.

At small liberal arts institutions, mentoring is much more possible than at larger institutions. It is clear that students who have participated in the summer workshops have had intensive mentoring. What is needed now is a more systematic discussion of what we mean by *mentoring* and how it differs from advising.

Our attempt now is to transform mentoring from a person-specific activity to a more systemic and department-wide activity. The department has a long tradition of mentoring students, with high success rates of placing students in summer research programs, internships, and graduate programs.

We are using ideas from other MOST schools as well as things we have done in the past and are working to institutionalize them. Progress has been made in at least three areas. First, participation in our student organization has varied over time. It has been virtually dormant some years and very active other years, depending on students' interest and initiative. Since 1996, the organization has worked with its faculty adviser to develop a constitution and become an official campus organization with university funding. At the initiation of students, we also established an Alpha Kappa Delta chapter on campus. Second, we have moved to regularize our department colloquia. We have involved students in at least three ways: having students rehearse their paper sessions before going to regional and national meetings, having students make presentations on summer internships (for example, one worked at the State Department of Health, and a paper she wrote about her work was published in *Weekly Morbidity and Mortality Reports)*, and having students report on overseas study (in 1998-99 several students went to the summer Jamaica program, one spent a semester in Mexico, and another in Argentina; in Fall 1999, one studied in Spain and another in England). Third, we have encouraged students to participate in an on-campus research symposium held each spring semester, which includes student research from disciplines across the campus.

CLIMATE

The next of the five core goals of the MOST initiative is aimed at climate: "To create a department climate that is sensitive to diversity and multiculturalism and promotes the development of all students." Work on curriculum transformation, research training, mentoring, pipeline issues, and the summer training programs has helped us focus attention on climate issues.

Three specific structural changes reflect success in this area. First, in 1998 we were able to offer a tenure-track position to Mario Gonzales in anthropology, expanding the number of full-time tenure-track anthropologists from one to two and adding diversity to our faculty in the department, as illustrated in Table 2 on the next page. Second, our two anthropologists focus on cultures beyond the United States. Gonzales focuses on indigenous peoples in Mesoamerica. Melissa Johnson focuses on the Caribbean. Because we are committed to the linkages between sociology and anthropology, this adds diversity to the education of our sociology majors. Third, attention to diversity and multiculturalism is found in course descriptions.[3] (This is also a measure of *curriculum change*, as reported in that section of this paper.)

Table 2
Tenure-Track Faculty in Sociology/Anthropology, 1985-2000

				Minority	
Year	Total	Female	Male	#	Description
1985	2	1	1	0	
1986	3	1	2	0	
1987	3	1	2	0	
1988	3	1	2	0	
1989	3	1	2	0	
1990	3	1	2	0	
1991	3	1	2	0	
1992	3	1	2	0	
1993	4	2	2	1*	multiple heritage
1994	4	2	2	1	
1995	4	2	2	1	
1996	4	2	2	1	
1997	4	2	2	1	
1998	5	2	3	2	MH, and Hispanic
1999	5	2	3	2	
2000	5	2	3	2	

*One tenured faculty member is from a multiple-heritage, Anglo/Hispanic family.

Table 3
MOST Students' Professional Activity and Graduate School Admission

Cohort (2 students ea)	Presented Papers at Professional Mtgs*	In Professional or Grad School	In Sociology Grad Program
Summer 1994	2	2	0**
Summer 1995	2	2***	2
Summer 1996	1	1	1****
Summer 1999*****	4	1	1

* Both regional and national meetings.

**One student is in law school at the University of Texas, and one is in the Ph.D. program in international studies at Georgetown University.

*** One is currently in graduate school at UCLA, the other is in graduate school at Penn State.

**** This MOST student has begun graduate school at Penn State.

***** Four students participated in the Summer 1999 program.

One quantitative measure of climate is the diversity of faculty in the department. The distribution of tenure-track faculty in the department also is illustrated in Table 2. Expansion of the offerings in anthropology as well as addition of minority faculty both build a better climate in the department.

Data in Table 2 document movement from a department with no minority faculty to one that is more diverse. Two of the five faculty (one of the three in sociology and one of the two in anthropology) represent backgrounds from traditionally underrepresented groups. One of these additions came before the MOST initiative; one came after. The university has an explicit goal of increasing minority faculty representation, a goal that is independent of the MOST program. Although the two efforts mutually reinforce each other, I do not believe we can attribute the change in our faculty composition to MOST. In addition, the configuration of faculty has moved over time from a two-person department with one anthropologist and one sociologist (in 1985), to a five-person department with two anthropologists and three sociologists (in 1998).

An important point to keep in mind, however, is that an improvement in representational diversity does not necessarily translate into an improved climate. Indeed, new faculty of color in a setting that has been and continues to be predominantly white may face considerable discomfort. We do not have good measures of perceptions of institutional climate, either for faculty or for students. The university is currently in the process of conducting a set of focus group discussions on our diversity climate in an attempt to establish a baseline and identify goals for future change.

Another positive move was the institution of a new course (now offered annually) cotaught by a department faculty member, Maria Lowe, and a staff member responsible for diversity education (Tanya Williams for several years, and then Jason Hercules). This course, entitled A Journey Through the Civil Rights Movement: A Seminar and Tour, was first offered in the May term of 1998. As part of the course, students travel across the South to important sites in the Civil Rights movement. This is both an example of curriculum transformation and change that has the potential of improving department climate. An intensive course like this can be a transformative experience for students, who can then return to the department empowered to make positive changes in the day-to-day climate of the classroom and the campus.

PIPELINE

The fifth central goal of MOST relates to pipeline issues: "To increase the number of scholars of color throughout the academic pipeline and to prepare minority sociologists for future leadership roles in the academy." We have had much success in this area.

Both of the MOST students who participated in the first summer workshops went on to graduate or professional school, though not in sociology. One is in graduate school in Latin American studies at Georgetown University, and the other completed law school at the University of Texas. Both students from the second summer program went on to graduate with a degree in sociology, one at UCLA and the other at Penn State. One of the third summer participants is also in the Ph.D. program in sociology at Penn State. (The other summer participant in the third year did not complete his education at Southwestern.) One student from the 1999 summer program started in the sociology Ph.D. program at the University of Texas at Austin in the fall of 2000.

Five different measures can be used to assess success in the area of pipeline: (1) number of MOST students who present papers at regional and national professional meetings; (2) number of MOST students who go on to graduate and professional school; (3) number of MOST students who go on to graduate school in sociology; (4) number of students of color who major in sociology; and (5) total number of students who go on to graduate school. The first three variables are presented in Table 3.

There has been clear success for the students who attended the three summer MOST research programs at the six graduate research institutions. Of the six, five presented papers at regional and/or national professional meetings; five applied to graduate or professional school, were accepted, and started the programs. Three of the six are in Ph.D. programs in sociology. This success has continued with our participants in the 1999 summer program. Three of the four participants presented papers at the 2000 AAHE meetings as well as the 2000 meetings of the Southern Sociological Society (SSS). They were joined at the AAHE meetings by another student who continued the mentoring research during the academic year and at the SSS meetings by four students from the capstone and research methods courses. The fourth student in the 1999 summer program did independent research with a faculty member during the spring of 2000. One of these four students began graduate school in sociology in the fall of 2000. Four anthropology students did fieldwork during summer 2000, but it is too early to trace their success in presenting papers or applying to graduate and professional schools.

This type of activity is not limited to our MOST students. Indeed, we have moved away from designating some students as MOST students and others as non-MOST students. Our goal is to involve all students in every aspect of the MOST program. We have a strong record of students presenting papers at regional and national meetings. In 1999, three students presented papers at the ASA meetings, and one of them participated in an NSF summer research program in 1998. A 1998 graduate (from a mixed cultural heritage) completed an honors thesis, has presented papers at professional meetings, and is currently in a sociology Ph.D. program. Although our department often encourages students to present papers at professional meetings and think about graduate school as an option, the MOST program served as a catalyst to strengthen our efforts and increase students' performance on the range of outcomes measured in Table 3.

Some of the best insights on the MOST program come from students who participated in the summer programs. One alumna emphasized how important the program was in moving her in the direction of an academic career, and its continued role in her work:

> The MOST program was very instrumental in solidifying my decision to go to graduate school in sociology. Through the program I attended at Penn State, I was able to receive mentoring from professors and graduate students alike while experiencing the graduate environment. The program also exposed me to the numerous academic and nonacademic options available to me upon completing my Ph.D. in sociology. MOST also provides numerous networks and support that I continue to use to this day in my graduate school work and scholarship. Overall, the experience was a very positive one.

Another student built on these themes and talked about both academic and nonacademic components of the learning experience:

> I found my experience with the MOST program (UMass Amherst, 1995), in retrospect, to have been a "real-world experience" of what graduate school is, both formally and informally. . . .
>
> As a part of our . . . program, we would get together each week to have what we came to label our "reality check" sessions. . . . We talked about the good and bad elements of the program in general and specific terms, as well as our own perceptions of what we were getting out of the experience. . . .
>
> I always tell people when they ask me about my experience with the MOST program that it honestly was so much like graduate school that when I actually entered my graduate program in the Department of Sociology at UCLA, I found myself quite prepared and strangely familiar with the structure of things. . . . I had ultimately been exposed to both the academic demands and the informal power structure that exist in graduate school, and it is this knowledge that helped me not only survive but excel during my first year. . . . I think that these situations are what proved to be both the positive elements of growth and development, as well as the more frustrating interactions that made the MOST program such an invaluable experience.

The success of the MOST students involved in the summer programs is important. The first step in the pipeline to increasing the number of minority scholars in sociology, however, is to have students of color major in sociology. Southwestern remains an institution that is predominantly white and middle to upper-middle class. There has been substantial improvement in the diversity in the student body. A 15-year trend of steadily increasing proportions of students of color in the entering first-year class stalled and reversed in 1997 and 1998. There was some recovery from this in 1999 and 2000. Because Southwestern has had a great deal of success in rapidly increasing minority enrollment over the past several decades, it can be difficult to separate the effects of MOST from other changes. Increases in the number of traditionally underrepresented minorities as sociology majors may simply reflect the changing proportion of the undergraduate population consisting of students of color. Table 4 provides time series data in an attempt to separate out the effects of general changes in minority enrollment and the impact of MOST.

Several patterns and trends in the data are clear:

- Minority enrollment in the entering class has increased over time. The declines in the 1997 and 1998 data are very likely a reflection of the *Hopwood* court decision in Texas, which prohibits the use of race in determining admission or financial aid. Reference to the complete data indicates that the decline in 1997 was almost entirely among African American first-year students, while in 1998 the number of Hispanic/Latino first-year students also declined significantly. The 1999 and 2000 data reflect a rebound to earlier levels.
- The number of graduating seniors majoring in sociology fluctuates considerably from year to year, ranging from four to 19 during this 17-year period.
- The proportion of majors who are minority students has increased over time, with the largest percentages being in the three years after the MOST program was in place and the most recent graduating cohort. (Note that although MOST started in summer 1994, these students would not have graduated until 1996.)
- The absolute number of majors who are minority students has increased dramatically. During the first three years since the MOST program was integrated into the department, we had eight students of color graduate. This is the same as the total number for the previous 12 years. Though the data for 1998 and 1999 indicate lower percentages of majors who are students of color, this is somewhat affected by the small sample size. The 2000 graduation cohort had our largest number ever of students of color.

The impact of the MOST program can perhaps best be seen if the data are grouped into three-year categories (see Table 5). Because the number of majors varies year by year and because there have been yearly changes in minority enrollment at Southwestern, this gives a better picture of the impact of MOST and the structural changes we have instituted in the department.

Data in Table 5 indicate a great deal of success in the first step of the pipeline — attracting students of color to the major in sociology. The 1996-1998 time period (which includes the three graduating cohorts of MOST students) has a significantly higher number and percentage of students of color majoring in sociology and completing their degrees than do the previous time periods. This is also

Table 4
Race/Ethnicity Among Graduating Sociology Majors (GSMs), 1984-2000*

Year	University Minority Enrollments, Entering Class	GSMs		
			Minority	
		Total	#	Description*
1984	28 (9.5%)	17	0	
1985	26 (8.2%)	7	0	
1986	43 (14.2%)	4	0	
1987	47 (14.4%)	9	1 (11.1%)	1 H
1988	42 (13.1%)	4	0	
1989	55 (17.4%)	8	0	
1990	58 (18.6%)	9	1 (11.1%)	1 H
1991	49 (15.1%)	7	1 (14.3%)	1 AA
1992	67 (21%)	12	2 (16.7%)	1 A, 1AA
1993	72 (20.5%)	6	1 (16.7%)	1 H
1994	60 (17.9%)	15	2 (13%)	1 A, 1 H
1995	69 (21%)	12	0	
1996	63 (20.4%)	19	3 (15.8%)	2 H, 1 A**
1997	53 (15.9%)	7	3 (42.8%)	2 H, 1 AA***
1998	45 (11.9%)	9	2 (22.2%)	1 AA, 1 H****
1999	65 (18.4%)	7	1 (14.3%)	1 A
2000	77 (21.6%)	14	6 (42.8%)	3 A, 3 H*****

* A=Asian, AA=African American, H=Hispanic

** First year to graduate MOST students, one Asian and one Hispanic

*** Second year to graduate MOST students, one African American

**** Third year to graduate MOST students, one African American and one Hispanic

***** Fourth year to graduate MOST students, two Asian and two Hispanic

Table 5
Impact of MOST Program on the Pipeline Goal, Minority Enrollment

Time Period	University Minority Enrollment, Entering Class	Minority Among GSMs	
	Ave.	Ave.	#
1984-1986	10.6%	0%	0
1987-1989	15%	3.7%	1
1990-1992	18.2%	14%	4
1993-1995	19.8%	9.9%	3
1996-1998	19.1%	26.9%	8
1999-2000*	20.0%	28.5%	7

*Note that this last period covers only two years of data rather than three

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the only time period in which the average percentage of minorities among the graduating majors exceeds the average percentage of minorities in the Southwestern student body as a whole.

A fifth measure of success in the pipeline goal is how many students overall attend graduate or professional school. Alumni surveys done by the university as well as two different alumni telephone interview surveys done by the research methods class (one in Fall 1991 and one in Fall 1997) indicate that about 67 percent of Southwestern graduates and of sociology majors eventually go on to graduate or professional school. Sociology majors do not necessarily go to graduate school in sociology, however. In the past decade, we have had majors continue their education in anthropology, law, public health, social work, and theology.

We have not compiled comparable systematic data on the proportion of each graduating cohort of majors who have pursued various advanced degrees. The two alumni telephone surveys sampled all sociology majors since 1940; full cohorts were not interviewed. Thus, we do not know the relative distribution of any one set of graduates.

Lessons to Be Learned From This Case Study

Although this case study examines the experience of one department, it nonetheless illustrates a series of lessons that can help other departments and programs seeking to increase the chances of success for their students of color.

Curriculum transformation is an important starting point. The curriculum reflects the values of an institution and a department. The content of the curriculum determines the training of the next generation of scholars. Thus, it is an important place to start when addressing issues of diversity. Departments must develop ways by which all students will come into contact with issues of diversity, no matter how their individual curriculum is constructed. Curriculum transformation sends a message about our discipline to all our students, not just students of color. It reinforces the idea that excellence and inclusiveness are central to the sociological enterprise.

Faculty support is a key variable. If curriculum is a key starting point, it is also clear that support from all departmental faculty is important for success. In the case study, our department has a faculty who fully support the goals of department transformation. Because all the five key goals of the MOST program take a great deal of time and effort, department transformation would have been difficult, if not impossible, without the full faculty behind those goals. Such uniform support is much more likely in a small department such as ours than it would be at a larger institution. As we made new hires during this period, job descriptions and interactions with job candidates were explicit about the department's commitment to the goals of the MOST program.

Institutional support is important. Throughout this process, it has been critical that the institution has supported the goals of department transformation. Funds have been provided for faculty to attend workshops on curriculum transformation as well as student travel to professional meetings. In addition, new faculty lines have received support. That diversity goals are explicitly part of the institutional planning document has been important in the success of department transformation.

The support from a national professional organization provided a catalyst for change. The American Sociological Association has provided support for departmental change in a number of ways. First, it sponsors national teaching workshops on integrating diversity issues throughout the curriculum. Second, its sponsorship of the MOST program provided monetary support for the long-term process of departmental change. Third, it helped develop a network of like-minded colleagues at other institutions who could share ideas and materials.

Department transformation is a continuous process that needs to be regularly revisited. The nature of the goals of department transformation as outlined in MOST means that they must be revisited regularly. Departments need to build structures such as regular department retreats, department manuals, and links between current students and alumni that will ensure review occurs.

In general, change needs to be conceptualized and operationalized at a structural level, rather than relying on individuals. Although one of the basic lessons is that the goodwill of individual faculty members is important, it is also clear that institutional change is not possible unless structures are put into place that reinforce the importance of diversity.

If these six criteria are met, then the probability of success in department transformation for improving diversity is greatly improved. With support at multiple levels (including individuals, departments, institutions, and national professional organizations), significant change can occur, and institutions of higher education can move toward the promise of providing the skills and knowledge for the diverse population of students we find in the 21st-century United States.

Notes

1. This paper is based on a January 1999 document reporting on the MOST program at Southwestern University. It was commented on and improved by members of the department, including Mario Gonzales, Dan Hilliard, Melissa Johnson, and Maria Lowe, and by a MOST alumna, Elizabeth Guillory. An earlier version of the paper was presented in a session entitled "Enhancing Excellence and Inclusivity at the Department Level: A Model for All Disciplines" at the 2000 AAHE National Conference on Higher Education in Anaheim, California, March 29-April 2. Work on this paper was supported, in part, by the Brown Foundation and a MOST grant from the Ford Foundation. I would particularly like to thank all the MOST students (Lisa Castillo, Pragati Desai, Bridget Goosby, Elizabeth Guillory, Steven Kim, Lorena Lopez, Amy McKee, Jessica Urbina, Rachel Williams, and Alison Wong) for their hard work, their continued contributions to

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the discipline, and their feedback on the program.

2. The wording of MOST goals throughout this document is drawn directly from overheads used in the 1998 MOST Coordinator's Conference, Washington, DC, February 21-23.

3. Simply adding key words to a course title or adding a reading about diversity does not constitute course transformation. Faculty must work on ways to make the analysis of race, ethnicity, class, gender, culture, and sexuality a central part of the course structure. Thus, the readings, exercises, discussions, films, etc., in a syllabus should all make diversity issues a central part of the course.

4. I would like to thank the Office of Admission for providing data for this table and Bill Jones for preparing the enrollment data. I would also like to thank Jan Nowlin in Advancement Information Services for providing a printout of all our graduating majors, by year.

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A Timeline of Activities Related to Our Department Transformation and MOST

1993/94 Academic Year

- For the first time, inequality courses (Race, Stratification, Gender) are offered annually; this is possible because of a new tenure-track line in sociology (Both semesters)
- Grant proposal written for MOST grant, funded by the Ford Foundation (Fall)
- Department chosen to participate in MOST (Spring)
- Two students of color chosen to participate in MOST summer programs at Michigan State University and Texas A&M University (Spring)
- One faculty member attends MOST Coordinator's Conference in DC (Summer)
- Two students attend research programs (at Michigan State and Texas A&M Universities) and are joined by one faculty member each for mentor's workshops (Summer)

1994/95 Academic Year

- Curriculum discussions continue; department begins to sharpen the focus upon issues of diversity in the curriculum (Both semesters)
- Two more students of color chosen for MOST summer programs at Pennsylvania State University and University of Massachusetts-Amherst (Both semesters)
- The four MOST students and faculty make presentations about MOST in a variety of settings — to faculty, admission staff, student organizations, and prospective students (Both semesters)
- One MOST student presents a paper at regional professional meeting (Fall) and the other MOST student presents papers at SSSA and ASA (Fall and Spring)
- First revised capstone course is offered, requiring all graduating seniors to complete a research project from beginning to end (Fall)
- One faculty member attends MOST Coordinator's Conference in DC (Spring)
- All three sociologists attend a national curriculum workshop on integrating diversity across the curriculum (Spring)
- All three sociologists work on summer curriculum revision project (Summer)
- Work begins on student department handbook (Summer)
- Department learning goals developed (Summer)
- Two students attend summer workshops (one at Penn State and one at UMass-Amherst) and are joined by faculty mentors for mentor workshops (Summer)

1995/96 Academic Year

- Students and faculty make presentations about MOST in a variety of settings — to faculty, admission staff, student organizations, and prospective students (Both semesters)
- Work continues on student department handbook (Full year)
- Student group sponsors first regular GRE study session (Fall)
- One faculty member attends MOST Coordinator's Conference in DC (Spring)
- Students chosen for summer MOST program (Spring)
- Two students attend summer programs (one at University of California-Santa Barbara and one at University of Nebraska-Lincoln); they are joined by their faculty mentors (Summer)
- Two students present papers at the ASA meetings in New York City (Summer)

1996/97 Academic Year

- OASIS becomes an official campus organization, with constitution, officers, funding, a newsletter, and regular meetings (Both semesters)
- Revision of courses continues (Both semesters)
- First MOST cohort begins law school and graduate school in Latin American studies (Fall); student department handbook completed and distributed (Fall)
- Two faculty attend AAA meetings to begin first phase of minority faculty search (Fall)
- One faculty member attends MOST Coordinator's Conference in DC (Spring)
- One student attends summer NSF research program (Summer)
- One student presents paper at ASA annual meetings in Toronto (Summer)

1997/98 Academic Year

- Regular colloquium series begins (Both semesters)
- Full-time temporary anthropology position is filled (Both semesters)
- One student begins graduate school in sociology at University of California-Los Angeles (Fall)
- Updated student handbook is distributed (Fall)
- One student presents paper at regional meeting (Fall)
- Second tenure-track position is approved in anthropology (Fall)
- Three faculty and four students attend AAA meetings — 22 candidates interviewed (from a pool of 307 applicants) (Fall)
- MOST grant extension proposal submitted (Fall)
- One faculty member attends MOST Coordinator's Conference in DC (Spring)
- Two tenure-track positions hired in anthropology (Spring)

1998/99 Academic Year

- Two students begin graduate school in sociology at Penn State (Fall)
- Fall faculty retreat focuses upon assessing and updating goals in the sociology curriculum; transporting the model into the development of the anthropology curriculum (Fall)
- First stages of a mentoring research project are formulated (Fall)
- Anthropology faculty work on development of curriculum for a major (Fall)
- Research methods course first offered as a four-hour course with a computer lab (Fall)
- Two faculty attend MOST Coordinator's Conference in DC (Spring)
- First cohort of students inducted in new chapter of AKD (Spring)
- Discussion of the anthropology curriculum (Spring)
- Department awarded university's diversity award (Spring)
- Four students and two faculty members participate in the mentoring research project, minority alumni survey, and other summer research projects (Summer)
- Annual faculty retreat for assessment of progress (Summer)
- One student presents a paper at the ASA annual meetings in Chicago

1999/2000 Academic Year

- Two students present alumni survey data at Homecoming weekend (Fall)
- Two summer program students study overseas (one in England and one in Spain) (Fall)
- Continued data collection on the mentoring project (Spring)
- Four students and one faculty member present papers at AAHE meeting (Spring)
- Eight students present papers at SSS meetings (Spring)
- Four students participate in summer field research projects in Mexico and Belize (Summer)

The Educational Leadership Corps

An Undergraduate Program of Professional Socialization for Students of Color

Catherine White Berheide

Some colleges and universities today find themselves serving a more diverse student population because of the changing demographics of their surrounding communities, others because they actively seek to increase the racial and ethnic diversity of their students. Whatever the source of the changing racial and ethnic composition of their student bodies, colleges and universities must adapt their curricula and programs to foster intellectual and personal growth in all their students. To do so, they may need to pursue strategies specifically designed to promote the success of traditionally underrepresented groups such as students of color. This chapter describes one such strategy, the Educational Leadership Corps (ELC), an interdisciplinary program involving intensive faculty mentoring.

An important lesson that emerges from many of the essays in this volume is that students flourish when they feel included in their academic environments. One way to develop a more inclusive undergraduate environment is to increase the intellectual and social interaction among members of the college community across gender, race, class, and other lines. In particular, colleges and universities need to offer students of color opportunities to develop strong mentoring relationships with faculty. The ELC at Skidmore College is designed to ensure the success of students of color at an elite and predominantly white small private liberal arts college in the Northeast by providing them with research experience and professional socialization to prepare them for graduate school. The ELC enhances the academic experiences of its student participants, whether or not those students ultimately choose to pursue graduate study.

As more students of color attend college, the need for more faculty of color grows. The ELC is one of many attempts nationwide, including the American Sociological Association's MOST program, whose purpose is to diversify the fac-

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I wish to thank Patricia Trosclair, assistant to the dean for multicultural students at Skidmore College, for her generosity and indispensable help in providing the documents and data for this chapter. More important, I applaud her for the leadership she has given the Educational Leadership Corps, not only on the Skidmore campus but also for the entire Hudson-Mohawk Association of Colleges and Universities. Without her tireless efforts and passionate advocacy, this invaluable program would not still be available to Skidmore students and faculty. Finally, I want to thank the student and faculty participants in ELC; I could not have written this chapter without them.

ulty of the future by increasing the number of African Americans and Hispanics in the pipeline. (See Howery and Levine as well as Kain in this volume for descriptions of the MOST program.) The Educational Leadership Corps is one small local step toward meeting that national need.

Other Strategies for Promoting the Success of Students of Color

The ELC grew out of the concern in higher education over the last 30 years with improving the academic experiences of students of color (see, e.g., Bierman 1973; Boyd 1977; Smith and Allen 1984). For example, Nelson advocates "the use of structured, small-group discussions, the explicit teaching of disciplinary discourse, and flexibility with respect to time deadlines" to ensure the success of students of color in college classrooms (1996: 171). He concludes that using nontraditional pedagogical approaches such as active learning and collaborative learning leads to substantial gains in students' success. Based on Treisman's work (1992), he argues that "failure to make effective use of these techniques is also (unintentionally) discriminatory against [b]lacks and other traditionally underrepresented groups" (Nelson 1996: 172). He urges faculty to redefine their role to that of a coach "striving to maximize the success of all students in mastering our disciplines" (173). The ELC is based on the model of teacher as coach enabling students of color to reach the highest levels of academic achievement.

Keith and Moore's study (1995) of doctoral students in sociology underscores the importance of mentors for professional success at the graduate level. They find that having a mentor "greatly enhances the students' satisfaction with the program, increases their professional confidence, and raises their level of activity in the professional activities of the discipline" (210). They recommend that sociology departments pay closer attention to mentoring to be sure that all students have equal opportunity for professional development. Although their research focuses on graduate students, the results have implications for undergraduate programs too. The process of professional development can and should begin at the undergraduate level.

Crawford et al. (1996) also assert that socialization into academic professions should begin during the undergraduate years. They believe early mentoring is especially important for recruiting women and students of color into the academy. They describe the Social Science Research Opportunity Program (SSROP), a structured mentoring program they have developed for students of color who plan to go to graduate school in the social sciences. Like Skidmore's ELC, their mentoring program involves students of color engaging in research under the supervision of a faculty member. Unlike Skidmore's ELC, SSROP students work on their research projects during the summer too, and they take a year-long research seminar during the school year.

The SSROP as well as Skidmore's ELC direct resources toward students of color with excellent records and strong potential for future academic careers. In contrast, the ABle program that Finkelstein and Farley (1993) describe is a retention program, developed by a sociology department for at-risk students, many of whom were African American. They base their program on Treisman's conclusion (1992) that encouraging greater student involvement in learning, while faculty serve as guides, improved the achievement of African American and Hispanic students taking calculus. Overall, they find that the at-risk students who participated in the ABle program, a significant proportion of whom were students of color, stayed in school, improved their grades, and "developed more positive self-images and gained more effective study habits" (Finkelstein and Farley 1993: 55). They conclude that "the key to improved learning and education depends on student-faculty interaction and involvement" (58). Sociology faculty need to devote sufficient attention to all students, including students of color, to ensure their success.

Shultz, Colton, and Colton (2001) concur. Kutztown University provides intensive academic advising and mentoring for incoming students of color through the Adventor program. It requires "students to participate in program activities that are structured to help students avoid the social and academic behaviors and pitfalls that lead to withdrawal" (Shultz, Colton, and Colton 2001: 211). In addition, it provides training on academic advising and mentoring to the faculty and fosters close faculty-student interaction. Shultz, Colton, and Colton conclude that "a trained, caring faculty member, providing sound advisement and role modeling, facilitates the transition of students of color into the institutional family" (215). They find that "Adventor students overwhelmingly believed that Adventor faculty assisted in their adjustment to college" (215). Given many competing demands on their time, sociologists may overlook the importance of advising and mentoring for student achievement. Programs such as Adventor or the ELC facilitate close faculty-student interaction for students of color, thereby fostering their success.

The Goals of the Educational Leadership Corps

The mission of the Educational Leadership Corps is to recruit more students of color to the professoriate. This program gives students insight into the profession and helps them develop plans for the future. The program's intent is to expose students of color to most, if not all, facets of the job of a college professor. The ELC introduces Asian, Latino, African American, and Native American students to careers in the academy, assists them as they make plans for graduate school, and provides them with a faculty mentor. As a faculty member at a small private liberal arts college that averages about 20 sociology majors per graduating class, perhaps one or two of whom may be students of color, I have the opportunity under the auspices of the Educational Leadership Corps to work more closely with them.

As a program designed to mentor students of color who are interested in exploring careers in higher education, the goals and the structure of the ELC are not unlike those of Preparing Future Faculty (PFF), a program sponsored by the Association of American Colleges and Universities and the Council of Graduate Schools. PFF, though, is designed to provide graduate students "with an opportunity to experience faculty roles in a variety of academic settings," such as a private liberal arts college, a comprehensive university, a religiously affiliated school, or a community college (Duderstadt 2001: 24). The ELC shares what Lee (2001) identifies as the two constitutive elements of all PFF programs. First, students "attend sessions where they explore various faculty roles and responsibilities" (Lee 2001: 46). Second, students enter into "a mentoring relationship with a professor" (46). An assessment of the PFF program reveals that the faculty, administrative, and graduate student participants were nearly unanimous in recommending the program to others (Association of American Colleges and Universities 1996: 56). Similarly, Lee finds that nearly all PFF "participants thought it was a valuable experience" (2001: 52).[1] The participants in the ELC, both faculty and students, also find the mentoring relationship and program activities worthwhile.

The Structure of the Educational Leadership Corps

The Educational Leadership Corps began in 1990 with funding from the Ford Foundation as well as the participating schools from the Hudson-Mohawk Association of Colleges and Universities, a consortium of 21 public and private colleges and universities in northeastern New York and western Massachusetts. Money from the Ford Foundation covered faculty stipends, while the participating colleges and universities paid the student stipends. When the Ford Foundation grant ended after six years, both Union College and Skidmore College chose to continue the program, using institutional resources.

Faculty receive a $1,000 stipend to mentor an ELC student. The students receive a $1,000 stipend to work with a faculty member in lieu of the work-study portion of their financial aid package. Although paid employment may provide some economic and career benefits, it may prevent students from taking full advantage of the educational opportunities available in college while also reducing the time students can devote to their studies. Replacing a work-study position with participation in the Educational Leadership Corps lessens this conflict, freeing students to spend their time on a significant research project.

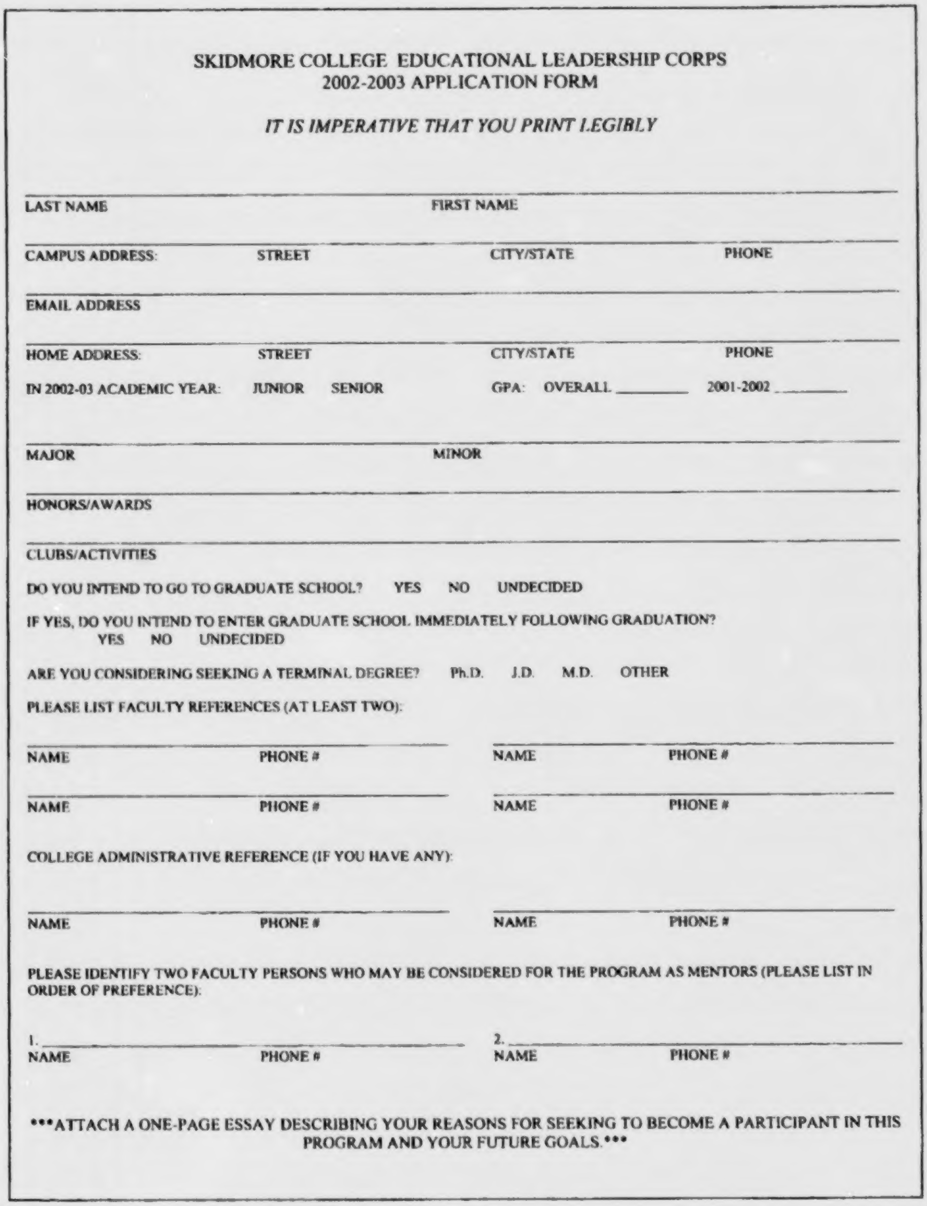
The college currently funds five paid teams, while sophomores and their mentors participate unremunerated. The budget is a very modest $15,000 per year to cover the direct costs of faculty and student stipends as well as a banquet at the end of the year. The student affairs budget absorbs the costs of administering the program, especially the costs associated with having the assistant to the dean of student affairs for multicultural students coordinate it. Although locating this program in the Office of Multicultural Students bundles the ELC with other initiatives designed to enhance the curricular and cocurricular experiences of Asian, Hispanic, African American, and Native American students, it separates the ELC from the Office of the Dean of Faculty, where the programs designed to enhance undergraduate research opportunities, such as faculty-student collaborative research grants, usually reside. According to Scisney-Matlock and Matlock, this arrangement is common nationally: "The visible commitment to diversity seems largely to come from the office of student affairs" (2001: 82). The ELC would benefit from stronger ties to the other undergraduate research programs that the dean's office oversees. More faculty might participate in the ELC, for example, if the dean of faculty administered it. On the other hand, the current arrangement may encourage more students of color to participate, as they have preexisting ties to the Office of Multicultural Students. If it could be designed in a way that is not too unwieldy, some kind of joint ownership of the ELC between student affairs and academic affairs might be the best way to administer such a program while signaling its centrality to the academic mission of the college or university.

Joining the Educational Leadership Corps

At Skidmore College, the Office of Multicultural Students generates a list of students of color with grade point averages of 3.0 and higher. These students receive a letter asking whether they might be interested in participating in the program. (See the application opposite.) It begins as follows:

> Dear Educational Leadership Corps Candidate,
>
> Have you begun to give some thought about your future? Do you think you might want to go to graduate school? Is there a Faculty Member that you would like to work more closely with, but really don't think you have the time? Are you curious about what it is like to be a member of the faculty? Maybe YOU could be a Faculty Member one day? How would you like to get paid $1000 to find out?

The director of multicultural students selects the participants based on their class year (seniors get preference), their major (to get a diversity of majors in the program each year), honors they have received, student activities in which they have been involved, their postgraduation plans (those planning to enter a Ph.D. program immediately after graduation get preference), their reasons for wanting to participate in the program, and how they performed during their interview. The director looks for students who want to explore the possibility of becoming a college professor and who want an opportunity to do research under the close guidance of a faculty member. The ELC matches students of color with faculty men-



SKIDMORE COLLEGE EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP CORPS
2002-2003 APPLICATION FORM

IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT YOU PRINT LEGIBLY

LAST NAME FIRST NAME

CAMPUS ADDRESS: STREET CITY/STATE PHONE

EMAIL ADDRESS

HOME ADDRESS: STREET CITY/STATE PHONE

IN 2002-03 ACADEMIC YEAR: JUNIOR SENIOR GPA: OVERALL ________ 2001-2002 ________

MAJOR MINOR

HONORS/AWARDS

CLUBS/ACTIVITIES

DO YOU INTEND TO GO TO GRADUATE SCHOOL? YES NO UNDECIDED

IF YES, DO YOU INTEND TO ENTER GRADUATE SCHOOL IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING GRADUATION?
YES NO UNDECIDED

ARE YOU CONSIDERING SEEKING A TERMINAL DEGREE? Ph.D. J.D. M.D. OTHER

PLEASE LIST FACULTY REFERENCES (AT LEAST TWO):

NAME PHONE # NAME PHONE #

NAME PHONE # NAME PHONE #

COLLEGE ADMINISTRATIVE REFERENCE (IF YOU HAVE ANY):

NAME PHONE # NAME PHONE #

PLEASE IDENTIFY TWO FACULTY PERSONS WHO MAY BE CONSIDERED FOR THE PROGRAM AS MENTORS (PLEASE LIST IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE):

1. ________________ 2. ________________
NAME PHONE # NAME PHONE #

ATTACH A ONE-PAGE ESSAY DESCRIBING YOUR REASONS FOR SEEKING TO BECOME A PARTICIPANT IN THIS PROGRAM AND YOUR FUTURE GOALS.

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tors in their major field of interest, typically during their junior or senior year. A few students participate in the program for both their junior and senior years. Sometimes students participate on an unremunerated basis as sophomores and as paid members of the program as juniors.

The Four Components of the ELC

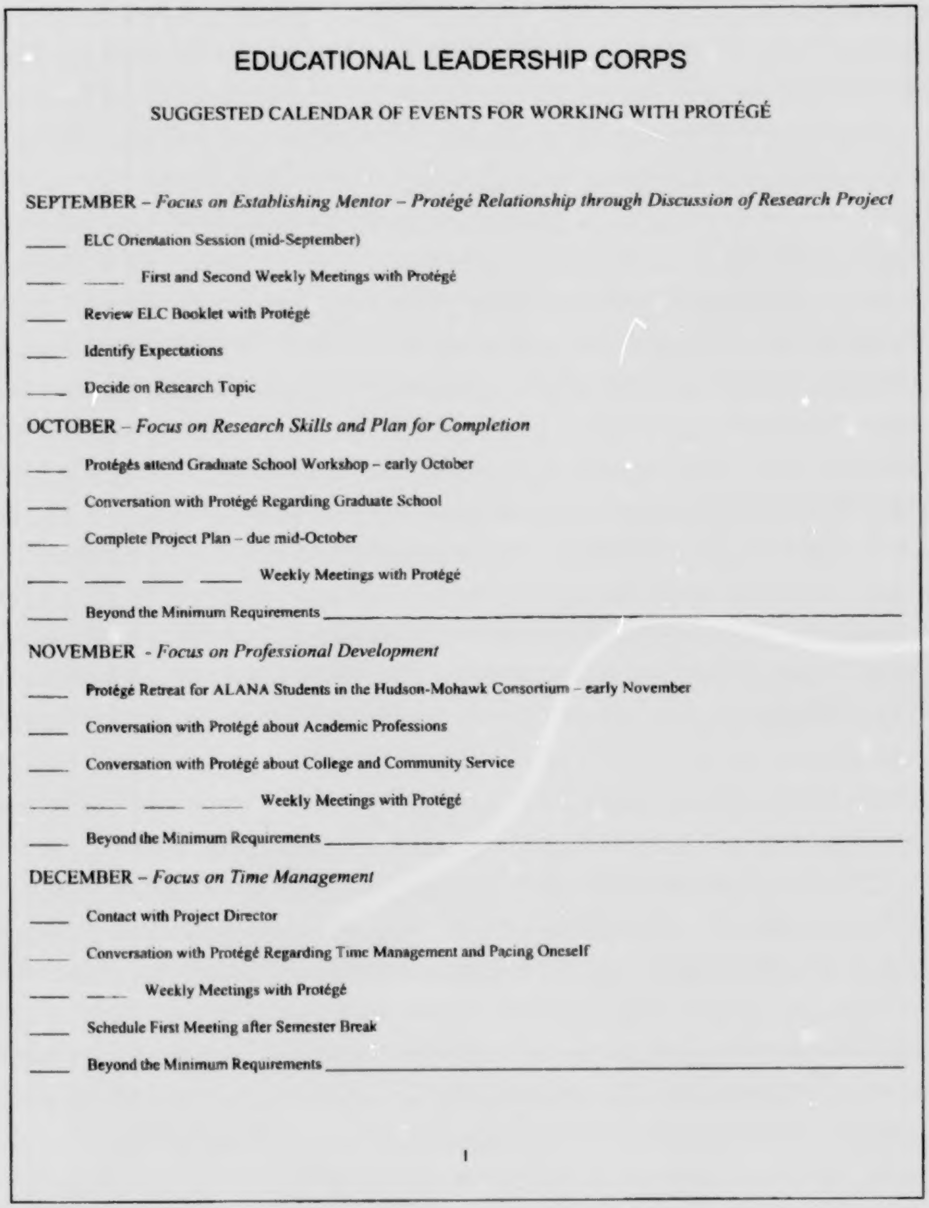
The Educational Leadership Corps has four main components: research, teaching, professional development, and college and community service. The ELC defines minimum requirements as well as a higher set of expectations for each component. The minimum requirements spell out for the students the least amount of effort required to continue in the program. The expectations identify the recommended performance to gain the optimum experience, and participants are encouraged to meet them. These expectations follow the admonition of experts (e.g., Astin 1993) that for mentoring to benefit students, "the interactions between the faculty and students must be comprehensive and yet specific enough to address the social, academic, and personal development needs of students" (Scisney-Matlock and Matlock 2001: 75). A calendar/checklist (opposite) outlines for faculty a comprehensive set of specific requirements and expectations.

THE RESEARCH COMPONENT

The foundation of the ELC is an original piece of research conducted by the student under the supervision of a faculty mentor. Participants pick a topic of interest to pursue, although occasionally students assist their faculty mentor in an ongoing research project. In either case, students meet weekly with their mentors. A research proposal containing an overview of the project, an outline of the schedule for completing the project, and the specific research objectives is due by mid-October. At the end of the academic year, students present their research to the college community. Participants are required to submit a final report, including a detailed description of the research project or the final project itself by the beginning of May. Faculty mentors review and approve the protégé's report before its submission. As Kain (1999) argues, such a research experience is a vital part of professional socialization in the discipline of sociology.

THE TEACHING COMPONENT

For the teaching component, participants teach or give a presentation to two or more classes per year, depending on their circumstances, needs, and priorities. Under the guidance of their mentors, ELC students plan the lesson, present it, and evaluate it. The goal of the program is to introduce students to the various methods and techniques used in college teaching. At the beginning of the Spring semester, students participate in a half-day seminar designed by their mentors,



EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP CORPS

SUGGESTED CALENDAR OF EVENTS FOR WORKING WITH PROTÉGÉ

SEPTEMBER – *Focus on Establishing Mentor – Protégé Relationship through Discussion of Research Project*

____ ELC Orientation Session (mid-September)

____ ____ First and Second Weekly Meetings with Protégé

____ Review ELC Booklet with Protégé

____ Identify Expectations

____ Decide on Research Topic

OCTOBER – *Focus on Research Skills and Plan for Completion*

____ Protégés attend Graduate School Workshop – early October

____ Conversation with Protégé Regarding Graduate School

____ Complete Project Plan – due mid-October

____ ____ ____ ____ Weekly Meetings with Protégé

____ Beyond the Minimum Requirements ____________________

NOVEMBER - *Focus on Professional Development*

____ Protégé Retreat for ALANA Students in the Hudson-Mohawk Consortium – early November

____ Conversation with Protégé about Academic Professions

____ Conversation with Protégé about College and Community Service

____ ____ ____ ____ Weekly Meetings with Protégé

____ Beyond the Minimum Requirements ____________________

DECEMBER – *Focus on Time Management*

____ Contact with Project Director

____ Conversation with Protégé Regarding Time Management and Pacing Oneself

____ ____ Weekly Meetings with Protégé

____ Schedule First Meeting after Semester Break

____ Beyond the Minimum Requirements ____________________

1

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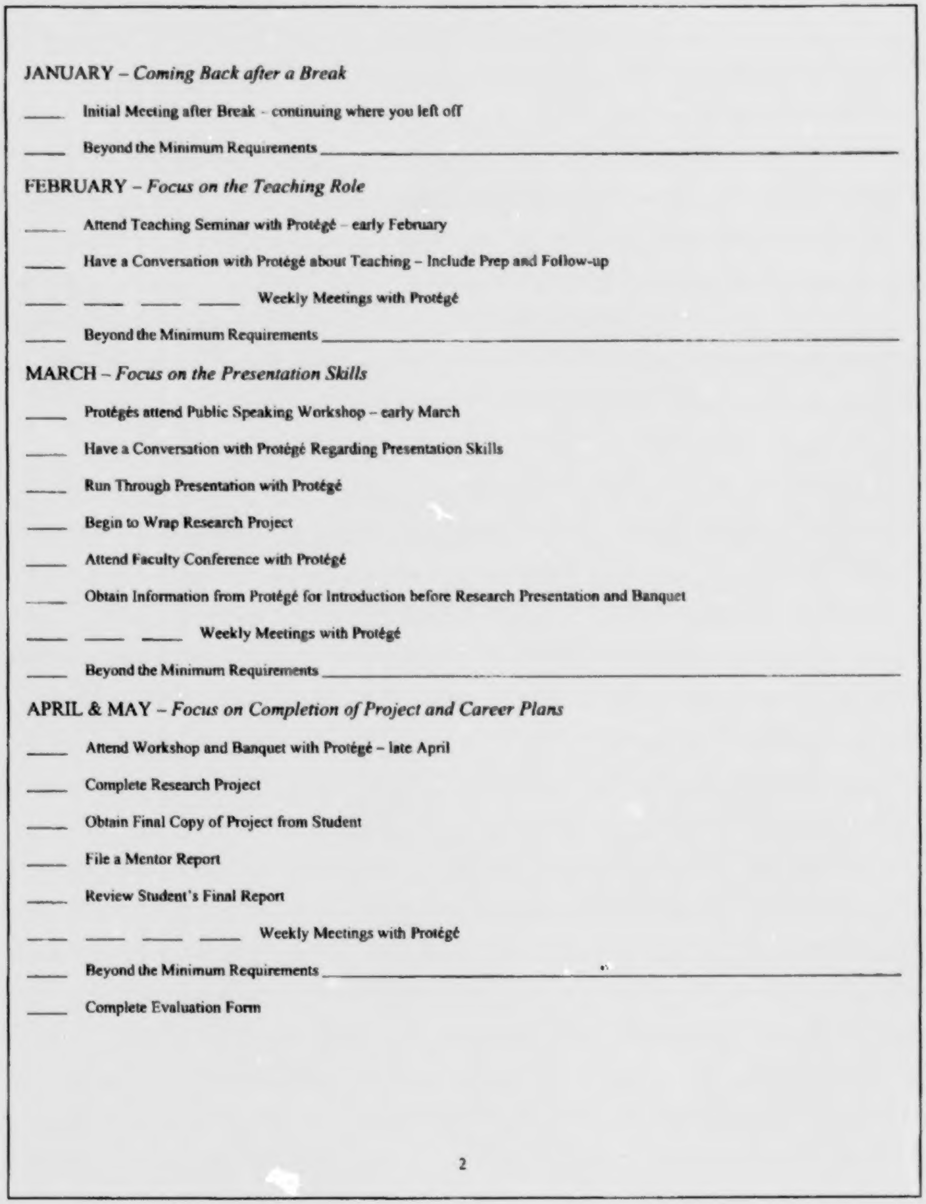

JANUARY – *Coming Back after a Break*

____ Initial Meeting after Break – continuing where you left off

____ Beyond the Minimum Requirements ______________________________

FEBRUARY – *Focus on the Teaching Role*

____ Attend Teaching Seminar with Protégé – early February

____ Have a Conversation with Protégé about Teaching – Include Prep and Follow-up

____ ____ ____ ____ Weekly Meetings with Protégé

____ Beyond the Minimum Requirements ______________________________

MARCH – *Focus on the Presentation Skills*

____ Protégés attend Public Speaking Workshop – early March

____ Have a Conversation with Protégé Regarding Presentation Skills

____ Run Through Presentation with Protégé

____ Begin to Wrap Research Project

____ Attend Faculty Conference with Protégé

____ Obtain Information from Protégé for Introduction before Research Presentation and Banquet

____ ____ ____ Weekly Meetings with Protégé

____ Beyond the Minimum Requirements ______________________________

APRIL & MAY – *Focus on Completion of Project and Career Plans*

____ Attend Workshop and Banquet with Protégé – late April

____ Complete Research Project

____ Obtain Final Copy of Project from Student

____ File a Mentor Report

____ Review Student's Final Report

____ ____ ____ ____ Weekly Meetings with Protégé

____ Beyond the Minimum Requirements ______________________________

____ Complete Evaluation Form

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Techniques for Teaching at the College Level. This component could include an exercise dealing with how to grade student work. Students' final reports include a section on what they have learned about college teaching. The ELC affords undergraduate students the opportunity to teach under the supervision of a faculty member; this experience is an essential part of their preparation for the faculty role.

THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT COMPONENT

For the professional development component, students have a series of discussions with their mentors about teaching, the tenure process, how scholars go about publishing in that field, faculty committee and/or community service obligations, higher education politics, curriculum trends, and departmental obligations. Students must attend the ELC meeting held in the spring that focuses on professional development. This component, too, will be included in the participant's final report.

These minimum requirements, although essential, are only the beginning of a very serious inquiry into the academy. ELC participants are advised to review the current curriculum in their discipline, look at trends in the discipline, and discuss them with their mentors. Students are encouraged to join a professional organization in their field. Depending on institutional and individual circumstances, students attend at least one college-wide faculty meeting and one departmental meeting per year. Periodically, the college offers workshops in time management, stress management, an overview of higher education career development, resume writing, and the like, which the ELC participants are encouraged to attend. Students are strongly urged to engage in self-evaluation by keeping a journal that addresses issues such as goals, insights, and anything else pertaining to the development of a life plan. The professional development component is a vital element of the Educational Leadership Corps.

THE COMMUNITY AND COLLEGE SERVICE COMPONENT

Finally, students have to perform community or college service. For example, they could mentor students through a local community organization, tutor elementary students in a college-sponsored after-school program, or participate in student governance on campus. Students are required to participate in a Corps volunteer day. Participants are encouraged to share information about the ELC on campus through articles for student newsletters, presentations about the program at campus organization meetings, and informal discussions with other students who may be interested in it. Students are encouraged to serve the ELC by working on a planning committee with mentors, writing a newsletter, or planning a special event or workshop. Participants must discuss this service component in their final report.

This component of the ELC contributes to students' success in multiple ways. First, as is its stated goal, it makes participants aware that community service is a criterion for faculty promotion and tenure. Students are required to discuss with their mentor how community and college service fits into the overall faculty role. Second, and perhaps more important, it involves students of color on the campus or in the local community. Being actively involved, especially on a predominantly white campus, increases the likelihood that students of color will be successful academically. Finally, this service component resonates with students of color who belong to racial groups with strong traditions of community work (see Dickson 1997; Naples 1992; Pardo 1997). The service component requires participants to live up to the historic motto of black women's clubs, *lifting as we climb* (see Dickson 1997: 222). The ELC makes clear that, as college students today and as college faculty in the future, they can engage in community activism to improve life for their racial ethnic community. In short, the intent of the community and college service component of the program is for the students to understand the value of sharing their talents with the college and with society at large.

Program Events

The ELC brings together all the mentors and their protégés at least three times during the academic year. These meetings allow the director of multicultural students to inform both the faculty and students of their various responsibilities. The director clearly explains what the faculty are to do as they mentor their students on each of the four components of the program. The checklist, in conjunction with the director's explanation, provides faculty participants with specific guidance on how to mentor students of color.

One of the unanticipated benefits of the ELC is that it builds ties among faculty in different departments. By working together to mentor their students, they support one another more generally in their roles as faculty. For example, the faculty plan the teaching seminar jointly. Doing so provides an opportunity for faculty to talk to one another about teaching. They discuss techniques for teaching at the college level and then demonstrate those teaching strategies, including small-group discussions, for the students. The benefits of the teaching seminar, then, are not limited to student participants. The various meetings throughout the academic year allow the faculty and students to support one another in their work in the ELC and more generally.

In addition, the ELC involves events specifically for students. For example, the director of career services runs a workshop for ELC students early in October on the graduate school application process. Perhaps more important, the protégés also participate in a two-day weekend retreat for students of color put on by the

Hudson-Mohawk Association of Colleges and Universities. This retreat involves workshops, social activities, and a student forum. The benefits of the retreat include sharing experiences of being a student of color on a predominantly white campus, networking with students and faculty of color, talking about graduate school applications, and building leadership plans. This retreat weekend provides the opportunity for students of color from different colleges and universities in the area to get together to discuss issues of mutual interest, from racism on campus to how to apply to graduate school.

The ELC year culminates with a banquet and awards ceremony following students' presentations of their research projects to the college community. Faculty mentors introduce their protégés. If available, graduates of the ELC are used as keynote speakers for the annual banquet. Invited guests include college presidents, vice presidents, and family members. ELC participants may also present their research in other venues such as the college's academic festival at the end of the Spring semester or at a professional meeting such as an Eastern Sociological Society annual meeting.

One purpose of the ELC is to involve students more deeply in the academic life of the college while demystifying the job of college professor. To that end, little things can make a big difference. For example, the college president has suggested that ELC students be invited to dinner with any major guest lecturer in the students' field who visits campus so as to increase students' involvement in a community of discourse. ELC tries to ensure that faculty take the kinds of steps, both small and large, that foster a strong sense of belonging to a community of scholars among students of color. The program asks faculty mentors to include students of color not only in the classroom but also in the disciplinary community, a vital element of the diversity "framework" that Carolyn Vasques-Scalera sets forth at the beginning of this volume.

Program Outcomes

Faculty report that being a mentor in the ELC has changed their perspective on what it means to be a student of color at a predominantly white institution. For example:

> What the ELC did for me was open my eyes to what are the different educational concerns of minority students. Through spending so much time with [this student], I was also able to witness some of the barriers that face minority college students in this contemporary era. College courses are typically not taught from the perspective of different racial and ethnic traditions. They often represent a single hegemonic viewpoint and thus largely ignore important cultural differences. That, I think, is a real shame.

Crawford et al. (1996) also find that participation in a similar program on another campus makes faculty aware of the enormous stress that students of color endure as a result of part-time jobs, family responsibilities, and racial hostility on and off campus, among other things. Similarly, Finkelstein and Farley conclude that one of the important unintended benefits of the ABle program, their program for helping at-risk sociology students succeed, "was to increase faculty awareness of student experiences and perspectives, and vice versa" (1993: 53). The more aware white sociologists are of the experiences of students of color in college, the more successful they will be in teaching sociology to these students and the better they will be able to foster inclusive learning environments in all their classes.

Other faculty mentors emphasize the effect the ELC has on students. For example:

> For both [students], the experience was an affirming one, and a real confidence boost. Certainly, for me, it was a wonderful opportunity to continue working closely with two students who would not have been able to work in my lab otherwise. In terms of the work itself, [one student's] was presented at a regional conference and is now under review with a journal. She is one of four authors, including me as first and other Skidmore grads. [Another student's] project is still ongoing.

Similarly, the sociology students I mentor present their research at Eastern Sociological Society meetings. Having a research paper accepted for presentation at a regional sociology meeting not only enhances the students' graduate school applications but also gives them a valuable professional experience.

ELC students report positive outcomes as a result of participating in the program. For example, one writes, "The ELC program is a program that provides an opportunity that I could not ever [have] had. I enjoyed learning about what kind of things a professor or a faculty member must do in order to be well known in [his or her] field. I really enjoyed the training provided by the many mentors and mentees." Another exclaims, "Teaching several classes to my peers in my second year of the program was a great experience. It gave me a lot of confidence to realize I could do this!" The ELC students gain not only specific knowledge and skills related to faculty roles and responsibilities but also a strong sense of accomplishment.

In its first 10 years, the ELC served more than 160 students, 90 percent of whom have pursued a graduate degree. More than 10 are already full-time faculty members; others are lawyers and higher education administrators. Of the 12 Skidmore students who participated in the ELC over a recent three-year period, three are in graduate school (where two have teaching assistantships), two are employed in higher education, one received a Fulbright grant for a year of graduate study at the University of the Philippines, and three are making plans for graduate study. In short, the ELC has been successful in preparing students of color for graduate school and in producing full-time faculty. Even those who choose not to enter the professoriate have gone on to a professional school or become community leaders.

Of the two sociology students whom I have mentored recently, one has decided to pursue a Ph.D. She has been accepted into six top doctoral programs in sociology. Similarly, all 40 Social Science Research Opportunity Program participants were successful in completing their undergraduate degrees and 16 were immediately accepted into graduate programs. Crawford et al. find that having students of color complete a research project gives "them valuable research skills, experience, and connection with a mentor, which in turn would help them to gain admittance to graduate departments at other universities" (1996: 258). My ELC student was also successful in getting admitted to graduate school, in part because she submitted her ELC project as her writing sample. It amply demonstrates her ability to do professional-quality research. In addition, my letter of reference could specifically detail the skills and experience she has gained through participation in the ELC. To meet the requirements of the ELC, she developed her own research question, designed her study, reviewed the literature, identified an appropriate quantitative data set (and downloaded it), analyzed it, wrote her report, and presented her paper to the ELC students and their faculty mentors. Her project required considerable statistical sophistication, so with the help of two colleagues in sociology and one in economics, I ran a workshop to teach her logistic regression. This research experience served as the capstone to her sociology major as recommended in *Liberal Learning and the Sociology Major* (Eberts et al. 1991).

I then helped her submit a paper proposal to the Eastern Sociological Society. It was accepted for presentation at an undergraduate paper session at the ESS annual meetings. Her travel expenses to present her research at the ESS meetings were paid through a grant obtained under my supervision from the Student Opportunity Fund administered by the dean of studies. As a result of her participation in the ELC, she has had considerably more experience as a researcher than most undergraduates.

She is keenly aware of the value of the mentoring she received as part of the ELC. As she wrote to me shortly after beginning graduate work in sociology, "In the end, I also wish to thank you for all the guidance that you provided and continue to provide to me, as I reflected on all that you have taught me. I miss Skidmore and your guidance." In particular, she indicated that she appreciated the extensive help I provided as she worked on her research paper. She wrote, "I wish to thank you for guiding me throughout the whole thesis. I learned much from you." She urged me to tell my current students "to cherish this opportunity that they have with you, for they will never get that much attention from a professor ever again in graduate school. They will be relying on their own." The ELC experience not only helped her succeed in her undergraduate education and get admitted to a top Ph.D. program in sociology but also will help her succeed in graduate school.

Thus, the ELC has had a significant effect on the students and faculty members who have participated in it. These positive outcomes confirm Scisney-Matlock and Matlock's conclusion that faculty mentoring is a key to student success, especially for students of color. "Students of color who have a faculty mentor perform better academically, regardless of the race or ethnicity of the faculty member. . . . One significant characteristic of students who are not performing well academically is that they did not have a faculty mentor whom they perceived as essential to their development" (2001: 80). Unfortunately, the ELC is small enough that only a handful are able to participate each year, thereby limiting the effectiveness of this program for transforming the experience of students of color at the college and for transforming the teaching practices of the faculty. Not surprisingly, then, the college is looking to expand the program.

Vision for Enhancing the Program

Skidmore College is currently seeking funding to enlarge the ELC program. The college wants to increase the total number of students in the program, to have students participate in it for all four years (identifying half upon admission to the college and the other half during their first year), to supply administrative and alumni mentors as well as faculty mentors for each student, and to provide funds for other educational experiences such as study abroad, travel costs associated with research, attendance at professional meetings, or graduate school visits. The availability of additional funds may give students of color the flexibility to take full advantage of the wide range of educational opportunities the college offers such as international study, internships, and collaborative research.

The program expansion would also allow students of color to design community service projects in lieu of research projects as the centerpiece of their participation, thus mentoring students for entering a larger set of careers than simply those in higher education. As now constituted, the Educational Leadership Corps focuses on students interested in academic careers, yet not all students of color aspire to faculty positions. This year, for example, another sociologist is mentoring a Latina who plans to attend medical school. If the college can obtain the necessary funds, Skidmore intends to increase the size of the ELC to include more students of color who are interested in business and professional careers. Skidmore's plan to increase the size and scope of the ELC may bridge the gap between its Higher Education Opportunity Program, which provides resources including advising and mentoring for economically disadvantaged students, and the ELC. An expanded program would allow more students of color to benefit from the close student-faculty relationships the ELC fosters. As other programs (e.g., Crawford et al. 1996; Finkelstein and Farley 1993; Keith and Moore 1995; Scisney-Matlock and Matlock 2001; Shultz, Colton, and Colton 2001) have also found, close student-faculty relationships are critical for promoting the success of students of color in sociology as well as other disciplines.

Conclusion

Although the small size of the ELC limits its impact, the program also shows what a single campus can do with little or no money to promote the success of students of color. Indeed, an individual sociologist or sociology department with no funding can implement a scaled-down version of this program. The calendar of events outlines a series of activities that an individual faculty member can follow with a particular student he or she has chosen to mentor. An even better alternative would be for a sociology department to implement a version of this program tailored to its specific campus environment and the needs of its students of color.

A mentoring program such as the Educational Leadership Corps formalizes what is otherwise an informal process of socialization into the profession of sociology. In the ELC, students go through a process of anticipatory socialization into the profession. Most important, the program gives students of color the opportunity to demonstrate their ability to engage in sociological research as well as other aspects of the faculty role such as teaching a class and making a presentation at a professional meeting. Having a formal mentoring program such as the ELC ensures that students of color in sociology gain a very specific set of skills and knowledge, ranging from how to do research to how to get tenure, from how to teach at the college level to how to make a professional presentation. This program provides students of color with the skills to succeed in undergraduate and graduate school, even in schools whose learning environments may be at best indifferent to or at worst hostile to the growing presence of students of color in them.

Furthermore, the ELC is itself a change, however small, in the learning environment. It requires both the institution and at least some faculty members to take active steps to ensure that students of color have experiences that lead to success in undergraduate as well as graduate courses. It provides a model for meeting the standard proposed by the diversity framework Vasques-Scalera outlines, that of offering an academic environment in which students of color are genuinely included and expected to excel. The experiences embedded in the Educational Leadership Corps are invaluable for promoting the success of students of color in sociology as well as in many other disciplines.

Note

1. The Wright and Hermann chapter elsewhere in this volume describes a workshop developed at the University of Michigan to prepare graduate students for teaching a diverse student body, addressing a PFF program weakness.

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Preparing Future Sociology Faculty to Teach in Diverse Classrooms

Mary C. Wright and Julica Hermann

In several hundred U.S. and Canadian universities, Preparing Future Faculty (PFF) initiatives have been launched to better prepare graduate students for the range of professorial activities in nonresearch university settings. Such programs have been shown to increase participants' pedagogical skills, understanding of diverse institutional types, and ability to engage successfully in a job search (Pruitt-Logan, Gaff, and Weibl 1998). However, the same studies also show that PFF participants do not feel they are well prepared to relate to diverse student populations. In this chapter, we offer a workshop model that uses a sociological perspective on multicultural teaching and learning to enhance the ability of future sociology faculty to deal with diversity issues in a variety of institutional settings. The sociology graduate students who participated in this workshop have indicated, through discussions and an evaluation, that this model effectively prepares future faculty to recognize the impact postsecondary institutions have on multicultural teaching and learning. Although the workshop is tailored to the needs and experiences of graduate students, it easily could be adapted to a faculty development program, as well.

Toward a 3-D Model of Multicultural Teaching and Learning

Marchesani and Adams's two-dimensional schema of influences on multicultural teaching and learning is often used for professional development workshops. On their y-axis, Marchesani and Adams (1992: 10-11) place students ("knowing one's students and understanding the ways that students from various social and cultural backgrounds experience the college classroom") and instructors ("knowing oneself as a person with a prior history of academic socialization interacting with a social and cultural background and learned beliefs"). On their x-dimension, they locate course content ("creating a curriculum that incorporates diverse social and cultural perspectives") with teaching methods ("developing a broad repertoire of teaching methods to address learning styles of students from different social backgrounds more effectively") (11).

Although this two-dimensional model is useful as an initial diagnostic tool for instructors to assess their own classrooms, as sociologists we note the absence of structural influences in the schema. We argue that Marchesani and Adams's

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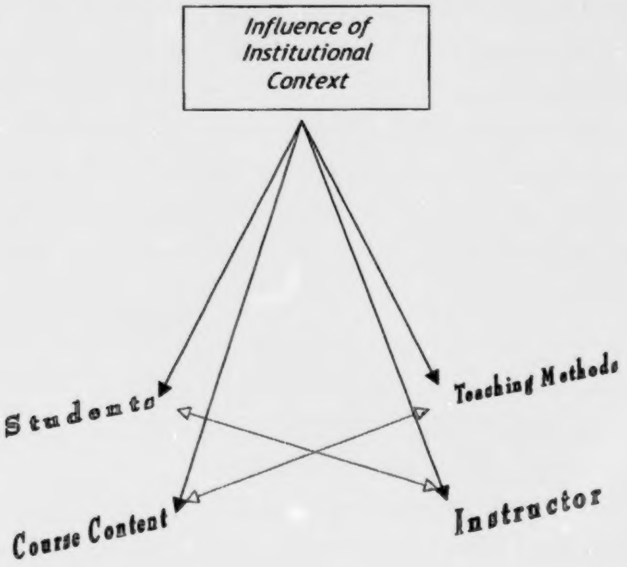
model would better reflect a sociological perspective on higher education with a z-axis, or a fifth umbrella dimension of structural influences that envelop the other four. For white instructors, context factors such as an historical legacy of racial incidents on campus may play a pivotal role in activating positive or negative instructional behaviors (Stassen 1995). This "three-dimensional" modification is especially necessary for workshops that are targeted to future faculty, as they need to be attuned to the barriers to and opportunities for multicultural teaching and learning that are shaped by institutional context. Although trained primarily in research universities, most current graduate students most likely will be employed in other institutional settings (Gaff, Pruitt-Logan, and Weibl 2000).

An understanding of the dynamics of multicultural teaching and learning is enhanced by taking structural and organizational factors into account. The figure on the next page presents a schematic of this model, transforming Marchesani and Adams's original model (in gray) into a pyramid that more completely depicts influences on multicultural teaching and learning. Following, we provide examples of how institutional context such as size, affiliation, and type of educational institution can profoundly affect the dynamics of teaching methods, course content, instructors, and students. This treatment is deliberately limited. Indeed, other structural and organizational variables could be mentioned, and we intentionally leave gaps for our workshop participants to unearth. This practice allows workshop participants to contribute their own perspectives and knowledge, thus creating (and modeling) a more democratic classroom environment by encouraging what Ira Shor describes as "new speech communities" (1996: 29-30).

Institutional context can influence instructors' selection of *teaching methods* and pedagogical goals by affecting class size, teaching load, and even physical space. At the research university-extensive (University of Michigan) in which we work, the student-nominated teaching award invites recipients to give their ideal last lecture, prompting one recent recipient to remark, "But I don't lecture!" (Pettypiece 2001).[1] Faculty at private four-year institutions are most likely to report using cooperative learning techniques, a technique that can enhance student learning in a diverse classroom (Gurin 2000). These institutional tendencies in pedagogical preferences may indicate not only a receptiveness to gauge courses to students with different learning styles but also underlying attitudes toward diversity. For example, faculty who report spending more time lecturing also express more negative beliefs about the benefits of diversity for classrooms, students, and teaching (Maruyama and Moreno 2000).

In contrast, instructors at large institutions may have more opportunities when it comes to *course content:* Larger schools often are able to offer more "progressive" curricular options (Astin 1993: 332). Faculty at four-year institutions are nearly twice as likely as faculty at two-year colleges (8.4% versus 4.3%) to have taught a women's studies course in the recent past (although two-year faculty are slightly more apt to have instructed an ethnic studies course, 9.6% versus 9.3%)

3-D Model of Multicultural Teaching and Learning


Influence of Institutional Context
Students
Teaching Methods
Course Content
Instructor

(Sax et al. 1999). Faculty at private, nonsectarian colleges express the highest level of belief that their institution has a commitment to diversity issues (Astin 1993: 49).

Considering *instructors*, the composition of the instructional staff can have a profound effect on pedagogical behaviors. To illustrate, women — most heavily represented in two-year institutions — report more frequently than do men that they seek a variety of learning levels in discussions and exams, avoid competition for grades, use visual aids, use instructional methods other than lectures, and are receptive to the needs of students with disabilities (Benham 1997; Finkelstein, Seal, and Schuster 1998; Goodwin and Stevens 1993; Sax et al. 1999). The greater representation of white women and faculty of color at comprehensives and two-year colleges is significant, because these instructors are more likely to use active learning techniques, include the perspectives of women and racial or ethnic minorities in their courses, and participate in a racial or cultural awareness workshop (Milem 2000; Milem and Astin 1993; Office of Educational Research and Improvement 2000: 268). Based on institutional context, faculty at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and private, nonsectarian colleges report the strongest diversity orientations toward both teaching and research (Astin 1993: 41).

Of these four factors, the impact of structural factors on *students* may be the most significant, affecting the learning experience in and out of the classroom. According to Astin, "Every aspect of the student's development — cognitive and affective, psychological and behavioral — is affected in some way by peer group characteristics, and usually by several peer characteristics" (1993: 363). Structural diversity, or the racial and ethnic composition of the student body, has a positive effect on students' enrollment in ethnic studies courses and informal interaction across race, while the percentage of students with need-based aid is positively correlated with students' satisfaction with faculty inclusion of race and gender (Astin 1993; Gurin 2000). The differing levels of diversity at institutional types — greater at two-year colleges than four-year institutions — have implications for students' receptiveness to diversity issues ("Minority Enrollment, Fall 1999" 2001). For example, students at HBCUs express the most support for affirmative action in college admissions, while university enrollees are most likely to feel that the policy should be abolished (Sax et al. 2000).

Consideration of these institutional influences is imperative for future faculty to develop the skills needed to relate to diverse students. Below, we present a workshop designed for sociology graduate students that prepares them to address multicultural teaching and learning issues.

Workshop Description

To address all four factors in the Marchesani and Adams model (1992), a day-long workshop would be optimal. For the purposes of our shorter version (2.5 hours) described below, we focus on two of the four factors: "knowing oneself" and "teaching methods." The following description includes the experiential exercises and inventories used to illustrate these two factors as they intersect with the institutional dimension proposed above. We recently conducted this workshop for a group of sociology graduate students; we include in this description some of the processes and outcomes from that experience. (All exercises used in this workshop are listed under Resources at the end of this chapter, along with a short list of readings provided to workshop participants.)

INTRODUCTIONS AND PRESENTATION OF FRAMEWORK (10 MINUTES)

We begin the workshop with an overview of the 3-D model of multicultural teaching and learning. The facilitator explains that we will be using experiential exercises and discussion to engage the challenges and opportunities in *knowing oneself* as an instructor and in noticing how our different *teaching methods* privilege certain learning styles in our students. In this introductory presentation, we highlight the structural dimensions and note that we will be looking at how these dimensions affect components of multiculturally competent teaching.

ICEBREAKER: ACTIVE LISTENING EXERCISE, GROUND RULES (20 MINUTES)

This exercise serves two important purposes in the workshop: (1) to set a tone of respect for and inclusion of varying views and perspectives, and (2) to encourage the participants to begin sharing their perspectives early in the workshop. Because the exercises require attendees not only to think and theorize but also to reflect on their feelings regarding issues of discrimination and privilege, it is very helpful to set a tone of safe, respectful discussion and attentive listening.

The facilitator asks the participants to pair up and take turns speaking and listening/reflecting with each other. The facilitator offers some questions to discuss in these pairs:

- How do I know I am being listened to and understood? How do I feel when this does not happen?
- What is the most challenging or difficult aspect of discussing issues of discrimination and privilege in our department? With other students? With faculty?

After participants have each taken a turn as speaker and listener, the facilitator asks the group to summarize their conversations by generating helpful ground rules for workshop discussion. The group members share what is important for them to feel listened to and respected when discussing issues of multiculturally competent teaching and learning.

In our workshop, participants identified the following ground rules:

1. Use engaged listening with each other;

2. Check our assumptions with the speaker rather than draw hasty conclusions;
3. Remember that we are treading uncertain ground together, and trust that we are all doing our best to understand and be understood;
4. Recognize that we do not usually discuss these issues, and we therefore need room to try out new ideas and make mistakes with each other; and
5. Recognize that we are not superheroes: We are at different points in our development as teachers and limited by the places where we teach. Some of these issues are not yet on our radar screens.

EXPERIENTIAL EXERCISE: PRIVILEGE WALK (30 MINUTES)

As with other simulations and experiential exercises (such as StarPower, Cross the Line, or Take a Stand), the Privilege Walk affords participants a glimpse into the physical and emotional experience of differential privilege and discrimination. Participants stand in a line in the center of the room, shoulder to shoulder. The facilitator reads a list of social and cultural privileges such as attending private summer camps or growing up in a wealthy neighborhood and asks participants to take a step forward if they have benefited from these experiences (see Resources for Internet availability of this exercise). The facilitator also lists examples of structural and social discrimination and asks participants to take a step back if they have had these experiences. As the list grows, so does the distance between the participants who come from privileged social backgrounds and those who do not. At the end of the exercise, the facilitator may choose to ask the participants to race each other for some kind of prize at the front of the room to illustrate the effects of an uneven playing field.

After participants have completed the exercise, we return to a circle and discuss how it felt to step forward and back. We then discuss how our social identities and privilege affect and influence our ability to teach in multiculturally competent ways. We explore the benefits and obstacles of belonging to agent (privileged) or target (minority) social groups in the classroom.

Participants in our workshop identified a variety of reactions to the Privilege Walk. Those who ended up toward the front of the room (with more privilege) reported feeling both lucky and guilty for benefiting from their social privilege. Those at the back of the room said that the exercise reminded them of the experience of not being able to catch up to other people, no matter how hard one tries. One participant said it confirmed her experience of feeling out of place in the graduate program vis-à-vis other students with more privilege.

We also discussed the implications of using this exercise with students in our classrooms. Some participants expressed concern that this exercise might impact students negatively, particularly those who have not grown up in privileged environments, while others countered that their lack of privilege is something they confront on a daily basis in the real world. Several participants noted that the list of questions in the exercise needs to be modified according to the topic and composition of each classroom to make the exercise most effective. For example, because the university in which this workshop took place has an affluent undergraduate population, a question that treats opportunities for interstate travel might be modified to address international tourism.

Finally, we discussed how our own identities impact the choices that we make in the classroom. Several participants shared how they use examples, anecdotes, and videos that signal their commitment to a multicultural perspective. For example, one white female participant shared that she consciously tries to portray herself as an ally to students of color and/or lower socioeconomic class with the examples she uses in the classroom. Another noted that she is constantly aware of gender dynamics in the classroom and that she is aware of her attempts to gain legitimacy with male students.

LUNCH AND DISCUSSION (45 MINUTES)

After the participants take a short break and gather their lunch, we continue to discuss how our social identities affect our pedagogical practices. At this point, if the facilitator notes that the discussion has come to a natural conclusion or lull, she may choose to initiate a new discussion. One useful prompt is the Action Continuum, which allows participants to note the different levels of participation and commitment to social change (see Resources*)*. This Continuum activity is challenging for many participants, because though they are committed to multicultural competence and social justice, this commitment does not always translate to their everyday behavior. The Continuum is also helpful because it assists the facilitator in moving the discussion toward the question "so now what?" In other words, it provides the workshop participants with some concrete next steps as social change agents. The following questions may be helpful in facilitating a discussion with the Action Continuum: How does it feel to identify ourselves along different points of the continuum? How do our different social identities compel us to "do something" and be more active social change agents in the classroom? How do our identities intersect with the organizational and structural barriers and opportunities to implement multiculturally competent teaching and learning?

In the case of our workshop, we decided not to use the Action Continuum, as the previous conversation had not come to a natural ending point. Instead, we continued to discuss the Privilege Walk and how our different identities impact our teaching practices. We also discussed how institutional practices limit or challenge our ability to serve students from different social backgrounds. For example, several participants noted that the institutional standards of grading and fairness compel us to treat all students equally. However, because different students have had very different educational backgrounds and opportunities, treating students equally in fact reinforces and reifies the distance between those who have social privilege and those who have not. (See Nelson 1996 for a discussion of how "neutral" instructional practices can decrease substantially the accessibility of courses to students from nontraditional backgrounds.) In response to this dilemma, several participants described how they teach and grade on a case-by-case basis: Although still using a standard for grading, they take into consideration extenuating circumstances, which include, for example, whether a student has to work a full-time job to stay in school. They also try to make themselves available to students from underprivileged backgrounds by mechanisms such as extending office hours, with differing degrees of success.

One participant noted another way institutional constraints operate: Graduate students' ability to support students individually is severely limited in large research universities, given the large workloads and students per section assigned and the difficulty of managing school work and research. On the other hand, another participant stated that there are many opportunities to engage in good teaching at these institutions, where resources such as teaching support centers and video libraries are easily accessible. Finally, several participants observed that their position as graduate instructors makes it difficult to make any final decisions about student evaluation and performance, as they work under faculty members often constrained by departmental policies (e.g., grading on a curve). Also, faculty members expect that students will perform similarly across discussion sections and are unwilling to take into account different teaching practices by graduate student instructors. Clearly, these constraints are not unique to graduate student instructors; faculty participants in a similar workshop may raise parallel concerns.

INVENTORY AND DISCUSSION: DIFFERENT LEARNING AND TEACHING STYLES (30 MINUTES)

The workshop now shifts from discussing our own identities *(knowing ourselves)* to different *learning and teaching methods* that support multiculturally competent teaching and learning. The participants take a few minutes to complete a Teaching Inventory to assess their own teaching practices. This inventory, based on the research of Harry Murray, includes a list of teaching behaviors characteristic of highly effective teachers in lecture and lecture-discussion classes: clarity, organization, enthusiasm, interaction, etc. (see Resources for Internet availability of this exercise). Once participants have filled out their inventory, the facilitator initiates a discussion of how these pedagogical practices are influenced by institutional contexts and how they affect students of different social backgrounds. Participants are encouraged to draw on their own experiences as students and teachers to reflect on varied pedagogical approaches and the impact these practices have on classroom dynamics. Who is privileged by traditional teaching methods? How can we expand our pedagogical practices to make learning more accessible to more students? What are the structural barriers and opportunities to make these changes in our teaching practices?

In our workshop, participants discussed the difficulty of attending to students' varying learning styles, particularly when the students themselves may not be aware of their optimal learning mode. Some participants noted the institutional constraints presented by the setup of a classroom or the limited time given for discussion sections. For example, one participant noted that it is difficult to move around the room and keep students interested if the students are seated in an auditorium with fixed seats. Similarly, participants observed that the institutional mode of teaching (e.g., large lectures with more than 200 students) has a strong influence on teaching practices and makes it difficult to use alternative pedagogical techniques.

WRAP-UP AND EVALUATION (15 MINUTES)

The workshop ended with a review of some of the reading materials enclosed in the packet we gave each participant (full citations are listed at the end of this chapter). In the introduction and first chapter of *Teaching to Transgress*, bell hooks (1994) offers her own experience and perspective on how the classroom can be a space of radical possibility, empowering and challenging students and teachers to engage personally and holistically in the learning process. This reading provides a powerful and accessible philosophy of how education can be harnessed for social change.

Whereas the hooks reading sets the overall tone for critical pedagogy, the other four readings were included in the packet in an effort to provide participants with concrete suggestions and follow-up to our conversations in the workshop. Margie Kitano's "What a Course Will Look Like After Multicultural Change" (1997) offers a useful three-step model of change (from exclusive to inclusive to transformed) that can be applied to four different components in course development: content, instructional strategies, assessment of student learning, and classroom dynamics. We include this reading because it gives concrete suggestions on how to improve and transform courses on all four levels. Similarly, Helen Fox's "Exercises, Assignments and Advice" (2001) suggests questions to use in classroom discussion, videos, and exercises and gives challenging advice on how to make a classroom environment more inclusive. This microapproach gives workshop participants specific techniques for how to navigate difficult topics and moments in the classroom and how to model appropriate and sensitive cross-cultural behavior as teacher and discussion facilitator.

The two final readings in our packet, "Teaching All Students Equally" (Lou 1994) and "Acknowledging the Learning Styles of Diverse Student Populations: Implications for Instructional Design" (Anderson and Adams 1992), focus more specifically on how learning differences among students must be acknowledged and taken into consideration in our teaching practices. In the former of the two, Ray Lou provides a personal perspective as he struggled to become a better instructor to *all* his students; he includes a list of skills that expand our teaching repertoire. Conversely, James Anderson and Maurianne Adams offer a broader review of the literature on student learning styles and appropriate teaching strategies. They offer a variety of frameworks that help us as instructors to recognize different forms and ways of learning and implement a broader set of teaching practices to reach a greater number of students in our classrooms. As a whole, we offer these readings to the workshop participants to encourage them to continue thinking about their teaching philosophy and to provide them with concrete suggestions that they can easily implement in their classroom practice.

Workshop Evaluation

In a postworkshop evaluation, we asked the seven graduate student participants why they decided to attend the workshop. All responded that they were interested in enhancing their instructional abilities generally, and four participants wrote that they wanted to develop their multicultural teaching skills specifically. For example, one graduate student decided to attend "because I had been struggling (more or less successfully) with these issues on my own, and I felt that I needed help figuring them out better." Another wrote that multicultural teaching and learning "issues are ones I think about often in my own teaching, and I enjoy the chance to get new perspectives on them."

Participants listed a number of ways in which they might apply what they had learned or experienced to their teaching experiences, current or future. Primarily, most pointed to the usefulness of workshop exercises for developing their own self-awareness as instructors or modeling experiential learning activities that could be used in their classrooms. For example, one participant wrote that the Privilege Walk was most useful because it helped "keep my privilege in mind when talking to students."[3] Other frequent themes treated the diagnostic benefits of the self-assessment tool and the utility of the articles provided as resources.

Attendees made the following suggestions for making the workshop more useful: Focus the workshop more narrowly, allow participants to discuss what multicultural teaching and learning means to them, provide a longer time period, and have a more diverse audience in terms of faculty participation and attendance by white males and men and women of color. (All participants were white women, although everyone in the department was sent several email invitations.) Finally, one participant made an interesting observation regarding the direction of the discussions, feeling that discussions that involved institutional context were "easier" because they focused on teaching more broadly and seemed to require less personal vulnerability: "I would have liked to focus a little more specifically on multicultural teaching and learning. Seems like we started with it and lost it in a discussion of teaching more generally. (Maybe because that's safer.)"

In spite of this "safety" — or more likely, because of it — comments regarding the workshop were overwhelmingly positive. The gathering helped one graduate student realize that "I'm not alone in dealing with these issues" and another to recognize "that others struggle with these same issues." Participants also reported that they learned much about the impact of structure on multicultural teaching and learning. "Being a multiculturally competent teacher is hard," wrote a graduate student instructor, "because it requires engaging aspects of our own identities, our students' identities, and how those identities can function within the context of course content and institutional constraints." Another summarized the conclusions of the workshop by noting, "There is a lot to manage in using our own social identities in ways that facilitate learning by [a] diverse student group. There are serious structural constraints to effective teaching, especially for graduate student instructors, and especially around multiculturalism."

The positive and reflective comments on the postworkshop evaluation indicate that this multicultural teaching and learning workshop for future faculty was effective. Like PFF participants, workshop participants were a self-selected group of graduate students who were highly interested in enhancing their instructional abilities. However, the sociology graduate students who participated in this workshop seemed to develop a highly attuned sense of the constraints and opportunities in multicultural teaching and learning that are afforded by structural influences such as institutional context.

Trained as sociologists, participants were comfortable seeing diversity through a structural lens. This workshop could be tailored to future faculty in any discipline, but workshop facilitators may need to use Marchesani and Adams's framework (1992) differently. For example, workshop facilitators who seek to stress "knowing oneself" by facilitating a process of in-depth introspection among participants may prefer to emphasize the more psychological approach of Marchesani and Adams's original framework.

One participant remarked on the safety afforded by the three-dimensional model of multicultural teaching and learning in that one could point to institutional barriers, rather than personal failings, as a means to talk about the difficulty of being a multiculturally competent teacher. Significantly, participants' feelings of safety may be one important reason for the success of the workshop. Safety does not mean absolution. Participants did not discuss institutional constraints as a means of excusing their behavior; instead, they felt that such constraints were an important element of the complexity involved in being an effective multicultural instructor.

To promote a more inclusive postsecondary environment, future faculty need to be afforded opportunities to develop awareness and competencies for teaching in diverse contexts and classrooms. By offering exercises that facilitate understanding about the complex interaction between multicultural teaching and

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institutional context, sample exercises for participants to bring back to their own classrooms, and a safe environment in which to discuss complex issues, this workshop would be a welcome addition to many future faculty preparation programs.

Current sociology faculty also may benefit from a similar program. Because teaching is a private affair in many institutions, faculty may never get the opportunity to discuss issues treating multicultural teaching and learning (Seldin 1990: 5). In such a workshop, faculty participants may identify the same structural constraints as the graduate student participants in our workshop (e.g., restrictions on instructional options), but they may also point to unique concerns such as tenure and promotion pressures.

Ideally, a workshop that includes both faculty and graduate students would identify the constraints and opportunities that are unique to and shared by faculty generations, enabling them to learn from each other and promoting a departmental culture that facilitates interaction around teaching.

Note

1. Faculty at private two-year colleges are least likely (33%) and at public universities most likely (54%) to report using "extensive lecturing" as an instructional method in their courses (33%) (Sax et al. 1999).

Resources

Workshop Exercises

Active Listening Exercise. (1995). In *Multicultural Teaching in the University*, edited by D. Schoem et al., pp. 314-316. Westport, CT: Praeger.

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Teaching Inventory. Based on H.G. Murray, (1993), "Low-Inference Classroom Teaching Behaviors and Student Ratings of College Teaching Effectiveness," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 75: 138-149. [Online at http://www.utexas.edu/academic/cte/getfeedback/teachingbehav.pdf]

Readings Included in Packet

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Part Three

Pedagogical Approaches, Institutional Contexts

The Empowerment of Students of Color in the College and in the Classroom

Theory and Praxis in Sociology

Mary Johnson Osirim

Over the past four decades, many social scientists have examined the differential levels of performance and educational attainment experienced by European Americans and students of color, namely African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, and some Asian American populations (Allen and Haniff 1991; Bowen and Bok 1998; Coleman 1966; Jencks 1972; Noguera and Akom 2000; Ogbu 1990). These studies focusing on differences in achievement have explored this issue at all levels of the educational system — from performance in preschool to higher education. Several works discussing the academic achievement of minority students in predominantly white universities have drawn attention to particular factors that lead to the success or failure of students of color in such institutions. These studies have maintained that in addition to the academic preparation of the entering students and their social class backgrounds, factors such as the campus climate, the acceptance of diversity from above (the top levels of the administration), the presence of a diverse multicultural curriculum, and a critical mass of minority students and faculty seem to enhance the possibilities of success for students of color (Allen and Haniff 1991; Roach 1999). Such factors matter at both the broad university level and in the classroom. The presence of these features assists minority students in developing not only human capital but also the cultural and social capital that is so important for later occupational success (Cookson and Persell 1985).

This article will discuss those factors that have led to success in the sociology department for students of color in a small, elite private women's college. Several of the factors mentioned above will be discussed as vehicles for empowering undergraduates at elite colleges and universities more generally and at the institutional level and the departmental level at Bryn Mawr College in particular. Specifically, this paper will argue that through uniting theory and empirical research (with a curriculum particularly addressing themes of diversity) acquired in the classroom with practice in the field, most minority students have done well in the

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I wish to thank our junior and senior majors of color for their contributions to this article.

major and go on to rewarding careers in a range of fields. During the past 15 years and possibly longer, the sociology department at Bryn Mawr College has maintained that all students (including students of color) learn the discipline best by doing it. These ideas will be explored through a review of some of the social science literature on the performance of students of color in predominantly white institutions before embarking on a close analysis of the Bryn Mawr case. In addition, the paper will delineate the meaning of *empowerment*, a buzzword that has become almost commonplace in much social science of the past decade. First, however, I will begin with a brief description of Bryn Mawr College.

Bryn Mawr College is a small liberal arts college for women in one of the affluent suburbs west of Philadelphia. In addition to providing 29 major programs of study leading to the bachelor's degree, Bryn Mawr has two graduate schools: the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and the Graduate School of Social Work and Social Research. Founded in 1885, it was the first women's college in the United States to offer graduate degrees up to and including the doctorate for women. Enrollment at Bryn Mawr exceeds 1,200 undergraduates, with students of color constituting about 25 percent of the undergraduate population. As is the case among other elite colleges and universities in the United States, Asian American students are the largest minority group on campus. The graduate schools combined enroll 400 to 500 students. Faculty of color make up 14.9 percent of the tenured and tenure-track faculty. In addition, Bryn Mawr enjoys consortial relationships with Haverford, Swarthmore, and the University of Pennsylvania. Although students can take courses at any of these schools, our relationship is closest to Haverford College, where students can choose to major, minor, or concentrate in fields at either or both colleges. Students can also opt to live on each other's campus. Thus, male students are also part of the Bryn Mawr undergraduate community.

Empowerment, Elite Colleges, and Students of Color

The term *empowerment* has become almost commonplace in much of the social science literature of the past decade, especially in the fields of feminist scholarship and race and ethnic relations (Moghadam 1997; Moser 1991). In fact, empowerment has often been used in discussions of marginalized populations in the United States and in the Southern Hemisphere, particularly in reference to women's status and roles. Empowerment speaks to the agency of such populations and attempts to demonstrate that they are actively engaged in shaping their own experiences. Using the term in this way is not meant to downplay or ignore the role of institutions and the broader social structure in shaping the life chances of such groups; it is just designed to demonstrate that so-called marginal, poor, or lower-class populations should not be principally viewed as victims. How has empowerment been defined in some recent works of the past decade? Is it an appropriate term to use in describing the positive experiences of students of color?

Although few social scientists have actually attempted to define this term, some feminist scholars focusing on women and development have offered some guidance in this regard. Although many scholars in this area define women's empowerment in terms of their control of income (see, e.g., Blumberg 1995), Moser takes a broader view and defines it as "giving women the right to determine choices in life and to influence the direction of change through the ability to gain control over crucial material and non-material resources" (1991: 168). Moser's definition of this term suggests that one must consider not only women's participation in the labor market but also their status in the private sphere of home and family, their status in the public sphere of their communities, and their perceptions of self. It is precisely at this juncture that Moser's analysis can be applied to exploring the experiences of minority students on predominantly white campuses, as her description implies that psychological well-being, self-esteem, self-respect, and autonomy also define empowerment. In addition, the development of social capital can further one's empowerment, because linkages with other students can aid in personal growth, increase self-esteem, and, through concerted efforts with strength in numbers, lead to the achievement of material and nonmaterial goals.

At the macrolevel, colleges and universities can enhance the empowerment of students of color through reaffirming students' cultural identity. In studying the role of cultural identity in the performance of Native American students, for example, researchers have found that:

> The more grounded a student is in [their] traditions, the greater the chance of graduating. Those torn between two worlds have more trouble staying in school. Many of those who are [culturally] traditional have ceremonies in their village before they go off to college. It's such an honored thing to go to college. . . . Success depends on how strong students are tied to their culture. (Rodriguez 1997: 38)

A strong sense of one's cultural background can enhance the student's sense of well-being and sense of self-esteem. When an institution of higher learning decides to introduce or expand cultural programs concerning minority populations and/or makes particular efforts enabling such students to understand their identities better, it makes a powerful statement to students of color and promotes their empowerment.

Through the establishment of a Native American program, Dartmouth College has aided the empowerment of Native American students. The college recruits many Native American students from across the United States to its undergraduate program. Although the college is located quite far away from many of these students' homes, Dartmouth attempts to re-create home for Native-American students. The institution increases the comfort level of these students by further immersing them in their culture through programming that brings artists, musicians, elders, and families to campus. According to Mike Hanitchak, director of the Native American program, "Schools [that] provide cultural centers do best at retention. . . . Our retention rate is 10 times better than the national average" (Rodriguez 1997: 40).

Another program that seems to work well for Native American students is a six-week summer program for prefreshmen at Stanford University. The director of the American Indian and Alaska Native program at Stanford, Winona Simms, states that "the summer program helps students learn the system, teaches them how to get financial aid, helps them meet professors" (Rodriquez 1997: 39). Because these students arrive on campus before European American and other students, they create a sense of community among themselves, despite the fact that they come from many different ethnic groups. The strong bonds that these students form help them stay in school and graduate. "Before the summer program, retention rates were dismal [for this population]" (Mary Belgarde, quoted in Rodriguez 1997: 39).

Bryn Mawr College has established similar programs for students of color that have promoted their empowerment. Specifically, the Tri-College Summer Institute (a Bryn Mawr-Haverford-Swarthmore program) and the On-Target mentoring program have both enabled students to better understand their cultural backgrounds, develop leadership skills, and attain success. These programs and other efforts toward establishing a more diverse campus climate at the college will be discussed below.

The Institutional Level

Before considering how the curriculum and pedagogy in the sociology department have contributed to successful outcomes for students of color, it is important to investigate how college and university communities can promote such results for minority students once they arrive on campus. Certainly a commitment to affirmative action plans in the college admissions process has been an important first step in creating a diverse student body, which contributes to greater success among students of color on predominantly white campuses (Bowen and Bok 1998; Roach 1999). Affirmative action policy emanating from the top levels of the administration clearly gives the message that the institution is committed to racial and ethnic diversity. Sarah Willie, director of the Black Studies program at Swarthmore, notes how central a progressive college culture can be for students of color. She also indicates, however, that "it is not enough to just admit minority students. . . . Admit them in large enough numbers where they can form a community of support for each other. . . . Institutions have to make sure they follow through with support so that students don't fall through the cracks" (Roach 1999: 43).

This statement suggests the vital role that the Tri-College Summer Institute maintains in the success of students of color. For more than 20 years, Bryn Mawr College, as part of the consortium with Haverford and Swarthmore Colleges, has sponsored a similar program to those previously discussed for Native American students at Dartmouth and Stanford. The Bryn Mawr-Haverford-Swarthmore Tri-College Summer Institute is designed for entering students of color in the three colleges. In the early years of the program, students were introduced to the academic rigors of college life through an intensive five-week summer institute that provided minicourses in mathematics, chemistry, writing, and sociology. The goals of this program were primarily academic ones; the colleges wanted to make sure that these students were prepared for the demanding workload and pacing that challenging liberal arts colleges require. In addition, the program wanted to develop strong peer networks among students of color that could help sustain them throughout their years in college.

During the past several years, however, the Tri-College Summer Institute has evolved into a new program that more closely resembles the Stanford summer program. Approximately 75 students of color from the three colleges (25 from each campus) are brought together for a period of a week to 10 days for the purposes of exploring their cultural identity and developing leadership skills. Although the previous configuration of the Tri-College Summer Institute was not a remedial program, it occasionally appeared as such to students from majority backgrounds who knew little or nothing about the program's content or design. This was the case because little to no information about the earlier version of the Tri-College Summer Institute was given to European American students who were not part of the program. Once they arrived on campus to begin the first semester, they began to hear about the program from their peers. For some students from majority backgrounds, the institute appeared to be a remedial program, as it was five weeks in duration and attempted to imitate what regular college classes in freshman writing, chemistry, mathematics, and sociology would encompass. Therefore, the original version of the program included some of the readings typically found on the syllabi for introductory courses in these areas, and students were assessed based on their performance on examinations and papers. Students of color who participated in this institute understood it as a program that introduced them to the pacing of college classes and some of the study skills that would enhance their academic performance within a small, supportive environment. This was believed to be especially important for many minority students who were the first generation in their families to attend college and were unfamiliar with a predominantly white academic and social environment. The revised Tri-College Summer Institute seriously attempts to dispel any hints of remediation and focuses on examining cultural identity and building leadership skills among students of color.

The new institute provided intensive tours of the campus and introduced students to several key members of the faculty and administrations of the three colleges before the official academic year began. The aim of this early exposure was to develop these students as leaders who would be very familiar with the operation of the colleges and be able to serve as guides for other students, particularly those from the mainstream population. More important, this institute aimed to put students in touch with their cultural backgrounds up close and personally. Through a series of seminars and workshops, students were introduced to some of the most recent perspectives on race and ethnic relations as expressed in social science and literature and then asked to explore their own backgrounds in small groups in this context. For some students who had not explored issues of their own ethnicity before, these sessions were very challenging and even sometimes traumatic. Increasing students' knowledge about their ethnic and racial identities is frequently an emotionally charged experience. Thus, it is important that students explore their identities in the context of an academic discussion about the historical and contemporary experiences of racial and ethnic populations in the United States and the structural explanations for the inequality that these groups encounter in the larger society.

Students in this program also establish friendships with students from the other participating schools, thereby expanding their peer groups and social networks. As a result, they not only become more comfortable on their own campuses but also are more adept at navigating the academic and social environment of the other schools. They are likely to take courses and participate in social and academic events at the other colleges. Such experiences further enable them to offer guidance to other students, including European American students, and speak with authority about these institutions. All in all, this institute provides students with greater knowledge about their cultural identities and the diversity of the student body as well as empowers them with this knowledge about themselves and the campus culture, enabling them to become leaders. These students therefore come to identify with the college and experience high rates of social integration, a factor that has been demonstrated to lead to higher retention rates (Tinto 1993; Zea et al. 1997).

The Bryn Mawr directors of the Tri-College Summer Institute and the more recently established mentoring program have stated that these programs have indeed resulted in high rates of retention and improved academic performance for students of color.[1] These college-wide/consortium-wide programs designed and coordinated by members of the administration have been effective in the empowerment and success of minority students. As noted by a Swarthmore junior:

> The college has exceeded my expectations because it provides a friendlier place for black students than I had imagined. . . . The month long pre-freshman joint orientation for minority students at Bryn Mawr, Haverford, and Swarthmore and the Swarthmore Black Cultural Center are programs that provide both academic and

> social opportunities for black students in the tri-college community. (Roach 1999: 43)

In addition, the Summer Institute points to the critical role of students' social networks in the retention and successful performance of minority students. According to Pascarella and Terenzini, "the dominant source of within-college effects [regarding retention and success] consistently appear to be the frequency and nature of contacts undergraduates have with the major agents of socialization: their peers and faculty members" (1991: 264).

To promote the success of minority students on campus, affirmative action policies also need to be applied to the hiring of faculty and administrators of color. In fact, such individuals need to be present at all levels in the academy, thereby giving further proof of an institution's commitment to diversity (Osirim and Hall 1998). Faculty and administrators of color serve as important mentors for minority students — persons who can be called on to provide academic, psychological, and emotional support for students, especially for first-generation college students and/or those finding themselves in a predominantly white institution for the first time. Social integration has been shown to be a major predictor of the performance and retention of students of color at predominantly white institutions. For African American students, for example, "high faculty contact leads to higher college grade-point averages" (Nettles 1988: 29). Walter Allen's research (1991) on the performance of African American students in black and white institutions further confirms this finding:

> Academic performance is significantly related to student satisfaction with and involvement in college life. Grades are significantly higher for students who have not seriously contemplated leaving school and for students who found their interests reflected in campus activities. Grades are also significantly higher for students who favorably reported their relationships with faculty and staff, another dimension of college satisfaction. (Allen and Haniff 1991: 100)

The On-Target mentoring program, which was begun in 1996 for first-year African American and Latino students at Bryn Mawr, has led to greater social integration as well as higher retention rates and improved academic performance for these students. This program pairs African American and Latino students with faculty and administrators of color for academic advising in addition to the advising students receive from their dean. Students and their mentors are also encouraged to become friends and participate in social activities off campus. According to Dean Lois Mendez-Caitlin, director of the program:

> The Program has increased the retention rate, reduced the length of time used to complete the degree requirements, and increased the overall participation in campus activities. Over a seven-year class span (e.g., from the graduating class of 1997 to the class of 2003), there has been a decrease in attrition from a 24 percent rate to 14 percent. In the class year span from 1997 to 2001, there has

> been an increase from 56 percent to 85 percent of students completing their degree requirements in four years and an overall graduation (rate) increase from 65 percent to 80 percent. . . . In addition, record numbers participated in the competition for campus scholarships and fellowships. (Mendez-Caitlin 2001: 1-2)

Dean Mendez-Caitlin further notes that only two students left the college after the first year of the program for academic reasons, a notable decrease from previous years when no mentoring program existed. Several students from the On-Target program have been selected as Mellon undergraduate fellows (generally honors students in their fields). Mellon fellows work closely with faculty members in their fields on major research projects and on senior theses. In spring 2000, the largest numbers of African American and Latino students ever went on study abroad programs. Participation in study abroad programs increased substantially, from 0 percent participation since 1993 to 40 percent for the class of 2001 (students who went in spring 2000). To go on junior year abroad programs, students have to have strong academic records (at least B averages in their major). Students in the On-Target program thus establish enduring social networks with faculty, administrators, and students and are well integrated into the academic and social life of the community. A current sophomore and participant in the program recently described On-Target as an "empowering experience," as students get to develop close relationships with faculty and administrators and are strongly encouraged to pursue their academic goals.

Applying affirmative action policies to the hiring of faculty on campus has other benefits for the institution as a whole. Such policies are highly likely to increase the number of multicultural courses on campus, as many faculty of color are likely to offer such courses that frequently challenge the established "Western" canon. Although not all minority faculty will teach in these areas, many are likely to offer an innovative curriculum, which is often interdisciplinary and on the cutting edge with respect to new directions in their field of study (Osirim and Hall 1998). Such efforts further enhance the diverse offerings of a college and enable students of color to see themselves represented in the curriculum. These actions positively enrich the campus climate and promote higher self-esteem among minority students, thus contributing to their empowerment. Further, a multicultural curriculum benefits the community as a whole by better preparing both majority and minority students and faculty to live in a more diverse world.

The Sociology Major as an Empowering Tool

During the past 15 years, the sociology department at Bryn Mawr has become an important site for multicultural and innovative education in the college, for maintaining a diverse faculty, and for developing close faculty-student relationships. As such, increasing numbers of students of color have been attracted to the department, improved their academic performance, and empowered themselves. Thus, as discussed above, the college's commitment to affirmative action in hiring, to providing a diverse curriculum where social structure and culture are combined in studying status attainment and identity, and to enhancing the social capital of our students, has led to success among minority students in sociology. Although evaluations of class performance by grades are one important measure of success for our students, this discussion will consider the retention, graduation, and career choices of our minority students as successful outcomes. In the discussion, the experiences of particular minority students will be highlighted.[2]

Each year, 30 to 40 students (mainly juniors and seniors with some sophomores who declare early) major or minor in sociology. Currently, about 29 percent of our majors and minors are U.S.-born students of color, including Asian American, African American, and Latino students. Some international students have also majored in sociology in recent years; two of our current majors are African students, and another student is South Asian. The department comprises four full-time tenured faculty; half the faculty is European American, and the other half is African American. In terms of faculty, the sociology department is one of the two most racially and ethnically diverse departments at the college. With the naming of an African American woman three years ago as department chair and the hiring of a Mellon postdoctoral fellow/minority scholar in residence at the same time, as well as active recruitment on the part of other faculty in sociology, the department has experienced growth in the numbers of black students (both foreign and domestic) majoring in the department. In the class of 2000, only 6 percent of the graduates were black, compared with a rate of 36 percent projected for the class of 2002. In fact, the percentages of sociology graduates who are students of color have been increasing in the last few years.[3] In 1997, 10 percent of the graduating class were students of color; this rate increased to 18 percent for the class of 2000. Given the current number of minority students who are majors, it is estimated that 36 percent of the graduating class of 2002 will be domestic students of color.[4]

The increasing number of students of color in sociology is especially interesting given that in a recent interview with two of our majors — a black Latina and an Asian American student — the latter student commented that "the decision to major in sociology was a very difficult one for me because of the social stigma attached to the discipline." She went on to state that coming from a rather traditional Asian American family, "sociology is off the map; it is not considered an acceptable choice for a major." The Latina concurred with this position and stated that there is a "lack of respect for sociology, since it is not a natural science." In the cases of these students (as well as others), their parents later supported their decisions once they saw the valuable skills, service-learning opportunities, and funded internships that the department provides. The Latina student maintained that "the classes make sense for me — they give me a chance to make sense of the environment I grew up in." They concluded by saying that for communities of color, "respect of the discipline is important." How is it that the department has been able to provide the knowledge and skills that have been attractive to minority students and useful in the world beyond college? How does our curriculum contribute to these goals?

A basic principle that guides our teaching in sociology is that one learns the discipline best by doing it. Thus, through the use of different pedagogical styles, we attempt to unite the theory learned in the classroom with the experience/practice of work in the field. Suzanne Keller (1988) encourages us to consider the important role of community as a means of grounding abstract theory and concepts in our courses. In her work she suggests that sociologists use the "community as laboratory" (Swanson 1998). In our department, the unity of theory and praxis starts at the introductory level, where students are introduced to quantitative and qualitative methods and the study of communities in their field research projects. Our first course, Society, Culture and the Individual, provides students with a broad introduction to the major theoretical paradigms and methods in the discipline with an emphasis on culture, social structure, and personality development in societies of the Northern and Southern Hemispheres. In addition to Marx, Weber, and Durkheim, readings in this class include studies of low-income communities, such as Jay Macleod's *Ain't No Makin' It* (1995). Students in this course design their own fieldwork projects, which consist of writing a survey to discover the attitudes of a class in their former high schools (or an organization in a nearby community, for those students who are unable to travel home or mail the questionnaires) about a particular social issue of interest to them. Students are taught to analyze the results of their surveys using SPSS. Although this course is required of undergraduate majors and minors, other students take it to fulfill a distribution requirement and to get a feel for the discipline. At least 20 percent of the class each year consists of students of color, who along with their European American counterparts find this course a generally challenging one that equips them with very valuable skills for the modern labor market, whether they work in the for-profit or nonprofit sector. Several students decided to major in sociology after taking this course.

Our second introductory course, U.S. Social Structure, provides students with an analysis of the structure and dynamics of our contemporary society through the study of social class, the distribution of power, and race, ethnic, and gender relations. Students are then introduced to how these stratification indices structure opportunity in the labor market, the education system, and the family. Among our current departmental offerings, this class provides perhaps the most diverse reading list with respect to the subjects explored and the authors of the many articles on race and ethnicity. During the second half of the course, students are reading articles on Vietnamese American family life and gender relations, the status of Latinos in the labor market, the absence of formal sector work in many inner-city neighborhoods, and educational attainment among U.S. and foreign-born black, Asian, and Hispanic populations. In this course, students are instructed in intensive interviewing techniques, and they conduct two such interviews based on a social-historical event or movement of their choice. Those interviewed for this study must have two of the following variables in common and differ on one: race/ethnicity, social class, or gender. In addition to being a required course for sociology majors, this class has also been labeled a "social justice" course that meets Haverford College's social justice requirement. Approximately 20 to 25 percent of the course enrollment is students of color, several of whom decide to major after taking this course. The diverse content of this course speaks to the actual experiences of many students who take it (including European American students from working-class backgrounds) and/or the experiences of relatives or others close to them. Each week, the class has an hour-long discussion session in which students of color have historically assumed a very active role. This course not only provides students with a theoretical lens through which they can understand stratification but also enables them to apply these theories to their own experiences in our discussions. Through the lectures, readings, and discussions in the course, students are able to explore their cultural identities and the development of ethnic communities in the United States. For minority students, such an exploration contributes to their empowerment. A Latina who attended a focus group discussion for seniors during spring 2000 discussed the significance of the introductory courses for her work in sociology and beyond:

> I absolutely believe that the best way to learn sociology is by practice. . . . The two introductory classes that students have to take as requirements introduced me to the different methods of inquiry, to be more exact, the scientific method. . . . The fact that students are allowed to do investigations, use computers, formulate questions, and analyze them is exciting and gratifying. . . . These learning tools create what I call the *Aha* sociological moments. (Senior sociology major)

Another major pedagogical approach employed by some members of the department that also contributes to a greater understanding of cultural identity and status in society among students of color and ultimately to their empowerment is the development of praxis courses. In a focus group with senior majors in sociology last spring, students overwhelmingly expressed their interest in praxis courses and encouraged us to offer more of them in the sociology curriculum, a trend that has also been observed nationally (see, e.g., Livesay 1998). A current black Latina student majoring in the department recently remarked about the "transformative nature" of the praxis-based course Schools in American Cities for her own life and for her peers:

> When I was placed in University City High School as part of the course Schools in American Cities, I saw myself reflected. . . . When you study low-income, inner-city people, you see yourself. Going in to do the field work changed a number of students' views.

> Students were afraid of these kinds of settings; they have preconceived notions. There is a lot of ignorance about these communities, the education system and the people in the inner city. Even when I went, I felt very Bryn Mawr; I felt so suburban. I was so out of it — what was happening to me. Such praxis courses are a kind of lab for us. They bring life to the subject [of sociology]. (Junior major)

There are currently four courses in the sociology department that include a service-learning component; three have included this component for several years (The Sociology of AIDS, The Sociology of Poverty, and Schools in American Cities), and one of them included it as an experiment in fall 1999 and later through the praxis program in fall 2001 (The Study of Gender in Society). These courses are offered as electives in the department. The two most established courses will be discussed here.

The Sociology of AIDS and The Sociology of Poverty are taught by a colleague who is very involved in research and service activities in some of the poorest communities in north and west Philadelphia. In The Sociology of Poverty, students are introduced to the causes and effects of poverty in the United States and explore social policies that attempt to respond to this issue. Students engage in mini-internships of a few hours per week in soup kitchens and homeless shelters and with organizations such as the Philadelphia Committee to End Homelessness. In The Sociology of AIDS, students are presented with an analysis of the social construction of the disease, the psychosocial experience of illness, and the health care system's and the media's responses to this disease. The instructor presents the students with many cross-cultural case studies of the disease, from north Philadelphia to examples from Uganda and South Africa. Students who take this course are placed in organizations that provide education and services to people with HIV/AIDS such as Congreso de Latinos Unidos and Prevention Point, a needle-exchange program in the city. In both these courses, students receive a close personal view of some of the major issues confronting urban low-income European American, Latino, and African American populations. They work especially closely with members of the latter populations of color on these problems and often find themselves in positions as peers rather than as students.

In fact, a major inspiration for the creation of The Sociology of AIDS was a Latino male student from Haverford who majored in our department in the early 1990s. This student, who was from a working class neighborhood in the South Bronx, had essentially been turned off by the academic environment of the Bryn Mawr-Haverford community in his first semester and rarely attended classes or handed in his assignments on time. He later took the introductory course, Society, Culture and the Individual, became enamored with the professor, and began to take his academics seriously. His grades began to improve significantly. He found that they shared many intellectual interests in the study of poverty, race, ethnicity, the sociology of health, and the growing HIV/AIDS crisis. The student had begun volunteering at Congreso de Latinos Unidos, the major Latino service organization in north Philadelphia. Subsequently, this student and my colleague both became involved with the work of Congreso and in essence directly witnessed the crises of poverty, AIDS, and drug addiction facing the Latino community. After studying this community and engaging in a great deal of volunteer work herself, my colleague and her student developed this new course.

The development of this course marked the beginning of a research collaboration between these two individuals — a student and a professor — that has continued for a decade. It exemplifies a factor that has been so important in the success of students of color at Bryn Mawr and elsewhere as demonstrated in the literature — namely, that social integration (forming close faculty-student connections) leads to success and empowerment for these students (Nettles and Thoeny 1988; Tinto 1993). The student-faculty/mentor relationship developed into a relationship between peers. This team subsequently attended many AIDS conferences where they both were presenters and published several jointly authored articles. The student graduated with honors, earning both bachelor's and master's degrees in sociology, and went on to earn a master's degree in public policy from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton. He later became the director of a Latino health organization in north Philadelphia before beginning a doctoral program in public health at Columbia University. There is no doubt that he has been one of the greatest success stories in the department.

Over the past decade, there have been several research collaborations that began as relationships between faculty and student but evolved into relationships between peers. Such examples of social integration and the enhancement of social capital have been quite salient in the success of students of color in sociology. Some examples in this area come from research collaborations in sub-Saharan Africa, a region in which we are very committed as a department and as a college (we are part of a Title VI-Department of Education consortium in African studies). Further, students can receive financial support from the Bryn Mawr College Africa Fund, which was started by a former member of the board of trustees to encourage research in Commonwealth Africa. Two African American women majoring in sociology have received support from this fund and worked with faculty members as research assistants on their projects in Harare and Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, and in Nairobi, Kenya. Both these women were from working/lower-middle-class neighborhoods in Philadelphia.

The student who worked with me as a research assistant in Harare and Bulawayo had been a slightly above-average student in sociology before she went to Zimbabwe in the summer after her junior year. She conducted about 20 intensive interviews of women employed as market traders, hairdressers, seamstresses, and crocheters in these two cities. She worked with me as a peer that summer, helping to develop lists of interview sites, familiarizing herself with our counterpart department at the University of Zimbabwe, and, in many ways, immersing herself in the local cultures. She was a very caring and conscientious interviewer who was really concerned for these women and the economic crisis they were facing. When she returned to the college in her senior year, her grades improved (to the B+/A-range), and she generally approached the academic experience more seriously. She later went on to attend the Graduate School of Social Work and Social Research at Bryn Mawr, earned two master's degrees, became the director of a community organization focused on youth in Philadelphia, and then became an F.B.I. agent.

A few years later, another African American woman worked as a research assistant with my colleague in Nairobi, Kenya, as a recipient of a grant from both the Africa Fund and a Bryn Mawr Marshall Fellowship. This student's academic performance was very strong even before she went to Nairobi. Her fieldwork there, however, made her aware of the dire poverty that confronts women in many urban squatter settlements in southern countries and led her to engage in comparative research on strategies for survival among low-income women in Nairobi and in Philadelphia. In addition to her field research in Kenya, she worked with one of my colleagues on the messages directed to youth about urban social problems by church leaders in Nairobi. As a Marshall fellow, this student's collaboration with me and my faculty colleague continued, as she worked with each of us on her thesis and as a teaching assistant in our courses. She graduated with honors in sociology and then assumed a position as a research assistant at the University of Pennsylvania before being accepted to several prestigious law schools. She attended Columbia University's School of Law and is now a practicing attorney. These examples again illustrate how students of color achieve success in the discipline and beyond as a result of the hands-on nature of our curriculum (where the study of theory is united with practice) and their research collaboration. They develop social networks with faculty that clearly demonstrate that they are socially integrated in the college. Such experiences clearly enhance their self-esteem and further empower them.

A Latino student who worked with me as a research assistant in Zimbabwe in 1999 and who participated in the focus group of seniors last spring commented on the value of the field experience in her life:

> Doing the research with Prof. Osirim in Zimbabwe put everything I learned in the classroom into practice . . . how to engage in a critical conversation with people (the leaders of NGOs) who have control over the lives of many poor women. The practice of doing research enhances critical thinking. You can see how the culture, the politics, the social and economic factors all come into play. The research helped me to understand my own experience better. (Senior major)

Student-faculty relationships also evolve into peer-level relationships through the employment of students in the department. The sociology department maintains a social science data lab staffed by student assistants and supervised by a student data lab coordinator. These students work closely with faculty in providing instruction to students in the use of SPSS and are very important peer mentors to others in the department. Students are also employed to work with us as departmental assistants, which includes many duties ranging from research (conducting library searches, providing annotated bibliographies) to writing the departmental newsletter, scheduling speakers, and secretarial duties. In addition, we select two to four of our outstanding juniors and seniors to work with us each year as teaching assistants in our introductory courses, in statistical methods, and most recently in social theory. We work closely with these students as peers in organizing the class readings, preparing assignments for class, and leading discussion groups. Minority students have occasionally worked for us in all these capacities in the department, and with their growing numbers in the major, I expect that they will increasingly occupy these positions.

Two years ago, our department received a grant from the estate of two Bryn Mawr alumni, one of whom taught at the University of Pennsylvania. The grant from this estate has enabled us to provide funded internships to students in the summer who submit applications and supporting documents describing the nature and supervision of the internship and its connection to the student's program of study in sociology. During the first year of the program, we were able to award grants to six students, two of whom were minority students. Both of these women have been strong students in sociology and come from working-class communities. They worked as counselors in summer programs for children of color from poor and working-class backgrounds, providing instruction in the sciences, reading, and writing. In a panel discussion about their internships, these students emphasized how important their cultural backgrounds and training in sociology had been in the successful completion of their duties. They had clearly served as role models to the children they instructed, establishing close bonds that they hope to continue.

One of these women was incredibly shy when she started at Bryn Mawr but has absolutely blossomed as a student and a peer in the department. She began taking courses in the major in her first year, during which she remained almost completely silent in class. During the next year and since the completion of her internship, she has become a very active contributor not only to class discussions but also in broader departmental functions, including working as a teaching assistant for one of the introductory courses. She has said to me on several occasions that she really identifies with the curriculum and faculty in the department. She has joined many campus activities and in fact has become a spokesperson for several groups around issues of curricular diversity.

Conclusion

This article has examined how colleges and universities generally, and a sociology department specifically, can empower students of color. Adopting affirmative action policies in the admissions process and in faculty hiring is an important first step in this process. Minority students have also benefited from programs that enable them to explore their cultural backgrounds and from a curriculum that addresses the experiences of populations from diverse ethnic, racial, and social class backgrounds. Experiences both inside and outside the classroom (praxis-based courses, internships, and research assistantships) further expand a student's social integration in the college community and advance the relationship between the student and faculty member to one between peers. Such experiences have enhanced the self-esteem of students of color and empowered them toward success in their careers.

Notes

1. Statistics are not available on the "success" of the Summer Institute with respect to retention rates and grades for the participants. Data are presented below, however, for the On-Target mentoring program.

2. Two of our most successful graduates in the mid-1980s were students of color (one from a U.S. minority group, one an international student) who have both established national reputations as sociologists in one of the premier research universities in sociology in the country.

3. In 2000-01, there was a notable increase in the number of Latinos majoring in sociology after their completion of the first introductory course in the department.

4. Longitudinal data on the number of students of color graduating in sociology were unavailable from the Registrar's Office, because such statistics were available only for the graduates of Bryn Mawr and not Haverford. Each year, the Bryn Mawr sociology department has majors from both colleges. The statistics used in this section come from the personal records of the current department chair, which cover only the past five years.

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Creating, Teaching, and Learning Social Theory at Spelman College

A Case Study in Voice, Pedagogy, and the Familiar

Mona Taylor Phillips and Kysha Doss

> For [b]lack women as a collectivity, emancipation, liberation, or empowerment as a group rests on two interrelated goals. One is the goal of self-definition, or the power to name one's own reality. Self-determination, or aiming for the power to decide one's own destiny, is the second fundamental goal. (Hill Collins 1996: 96)

> As sociologists . . . if we are to be about work, study and research that is oriented in revealing truth and presenting resourceful change to humankind, we must be about work that [sets] aside the technical jargon . . . of the power structure trying to maintain [its] power. (Nyka Wiseman, junior sociology major)

The purpose of this paper is to describe a journey of what Lee Shulman describes as *going meta* about the teaching and learning process (Shulman 1993). Although Shulman writes primarily about going meta as professors "slowing down" and making their own practice an "object of scholarship," we will describe an exploratory research project in which students also go meta about teaching and learning social theory. During the 1998 to 2000 academic years, three focus groups (involving 17 students) and 14 in-depth face-to-face and telephone interviews were conducted so that black women students at Spelman College could speak fully about their experiences in the social theory courses offered by the sociology department. The women's written work during these years was also used in the research as another source of their ideas about social theory and as another place where it was possible to "hear" those ideas. In the focus groups, in-depth face-to-face and telephone interviews, and their written work, students described the teaching and learning environments they thought would facilitate their conversation with — and (re)creation of — a living, breathing sociology they

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could claim as familiar, or could claim as their own. The "familiar" for the students was a twofold concept. First, "theory" was familiar only to the degree that they were able to connect their own ideas and their lives to theory and the act of "theorizing" (Hill Collins 1996). Second, the women argued that connection could happen only if the classroom itself was a place in which professors were willing to open up the space for the creation of a link between themselves and sociological theory. Placing the voices of the students at the center, this paper shares the ideas of sociology majors at Spelman College as they theorized the relationship between the familiar and a pedagogy that is shaped by their familiar. This link between the women's worlds of knowledge they bring into the classroom and the classroom experience itself is crucial for a sense of ownership and comfort with social theory — and the entire discipline.

A second purpose in writing this paper is to bring the ideas of the students at Spelman College about teaching, learning, and creating social theory to the issue of representation of students of color in the discipline. Their ideas about what kinds of texts, assignments, and classroom experiences connected them to the sociological enterprise may not only be helpful in answering the question of increasing representation of students of color but also be useful in a possible reframing of the very question itself.

(Throughout this chapter, our individual voices, Phillips or Doss, are set off in *italics.)*

Beginning in the Middle of It All: Asking Questions About Teaching and Learning Sociological Theory

Phillips: *It is the mid-1990s, and I am sitting in yet another thesis midterm report meeting at Spelman College, a historically black liberal arts college for women in Atlanta, Georgia. The sociology majors are required for their capstone experience to complete a senior thesis. The sociology curriculum is designed to be airtight in preparing students to actually design and implement their research projects. The introduction to sociology for majors course, as well as the statistics, methods, and history of social thought and contemporary social theory courses, are all designed to facilitate students' movement through their own research projects. The curriculum is not badly designed, and the departmental faculty has spent a great deal of time thinking it through. We want students to explore their own ideas, theorize their projects, and then collect and analyze data. That is what we want.*

But I sit there, watching the women begin their presentations with fairly interesting ideas: self-esteem and body image among African American women, experiences of African American children in public schools, Haitian transnational identities, to name a few. I am watching the process I have seen year after year: the shoveling of ideas, of passions, of the life experiences that provided the contexts for those ideas into "theory." Theory — that thing that separates sociology from polling. Theory — that thing that separates man from primates. Theory — that thing that distinguishes scholarship (and a certain *quality of mind) that is brilliant from the work that is merely workmanlike. Theory — that thing that separates the white and/or male "them" from the not white and not male "us." Theory as the alien space, the unfamiliar.*

It is a painful exercise to watch: this twisting and turning and distortion of ideas and voice.

Doss: *From the professors of social theory to the students of the subject, there appears to be an undiscussed intention on behalf of both the teacher and the student. Presented as the guidelines to receiving a degree in sociology at Spelman College, the courses are outlined in a student handbook. The desires and determination of the faculty and staff are clearly presented to those students wishing to complete the major and acquire the coveted degree. It is apparent that the professors, the teachers, the advisers, and administrators are confident in what they hope the students will learn. But the question of how these students learn and what in fact is being learned had been a developing concern of mine for more than three years. My first two courses in theory are remembered as a mad memory of names of specific theorists and their tagged theories of association to a school of social thought. Over time, these theories have maintained their significance while their famous fathers are frozen in a failed frame of memory of who thought what and decided to write about it first. Forced to memorize their thoughts and regurgitate their theories, I failed to find the freedom to put into practice my own understanding of the thought I have retained.*

Unfortunately, I did not have the confidence to voice my criticism.

There were dual yet related origins of the research we are sharing here. Concerned with the disconnect of sociology majors from sociological theory, we began in different ways to ask questions about this difficulty students were having with using theory to make sense of their own theses. For years, department professors had bemoaned the weaknesses in the theory sections of the theses, and over the same years students had bemoaned their own difficulties with the theory courses, even when "doing well" in those courses.

Phillips: *In addition to our individual experiences as a professor and student in the department, my work done as a Carnegie scholar with the Carnegie Academy for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning provided the time, focus, and intellectual framing for our inquiry into the experiences of the students. My Carnegie project was conceived with a particular interest in the relationship between goals and pedagogy for the contemporary sociological theory course. I soon discovered that my research questions intersected with concerns the students themselves had been grappling with over the years.*

Doss: *My thesis was not a reaction to the developing ideas of professors and scholars involved in creating a student-centered classroom. My thesis was an attempt to understand how students want to learn, as well as to identify what teaching methods aided in this acquisition of knowledge. The students have desires that exist independent of our professors' research about teaching, and it was the purpose of my exploration to bring the voices of my contemporaries into the center of* our *discipline.*

Although this essay is coauthored, the two of us cannot always speak with the same voice. Both of us addressed some of the same issues, but we have done the work from two very different points of view: that of professor of contemporary sociological theory and that of a thesis student who had at one time taken the course. We have therefore attempted to construct a paper that represents how this research about teaching and learning sociological theory was conducted and experienced in similar and dissimilar fashions. We are therefore sometimes able to speak with one voice, and sometimes it is necessary to go our separate ways. One of the key issues emerging in the research was the necessity of having the intellectual room to define one's own reality. It seemed important that we did not write about the research as well as the institutional context in which the research occurred as shared realities, when at times they were very different experiences for the two of us.

Spelman College: A Woman's Place for Theorizing About Society (Theoretically)

Phillips: *Spelman College, founded in 1881, is a college that has as its core value and purpose the preparation of women for leadership and service to their communities. Women are expected to leave Spelman caring about their society and with a sense of obligation to their communities. In fact, the narrative about the very founding of the college, retold every year in a founders day ceremony all first-year students are required to attend, is a story about "hardship, struggle, and finally triumph." Spelman founders Harriet B. Giles and Sophia Packard, two white women with the Woman's American Baptist Mission Society, were so disturbed by the status and conditions of black girls and women in the South that they were "determined to start a school in the South for black females" (Guy-Sheftall and Stewart 1981: 3).*

African Diaspora and the World, the two-semester core course required of all students, reflects the college's mission of preparing women for service to communities. Enslavement, colonization, patriarchy, and resistance throughout Africa and its Diaspora are the defining themes of the course, and excerpts from Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed *(1993), Patricia Hill Collins's* Black Feminist Thought *(2000), and Audre Lourde's* Sister Outsider *(1984) are some of the first texts students are required to read during their first month on campus. The sociology department locates its own curriculum and pedagogies within this larger institutional value of service and social change. The department offers internships in social agencies and community-based service organizations throughout the city of Atlanta. Students are encouraged to take advantage of study abroad and domestic exchange opportunities so that they are able to develop their sociological imaginations — what Barbara Christian calls black people's "survival tool" (1983) — in diverse settings. The capstone thesis requirement is conceptualized as a kind of culmination of at least two years of primarily self-directed intellectual, social, and political growth and development.*

Doss: *At Spelman there are few, if any, visible gender scales [of inequality] to be tipped. Aside from the professors, there are few men who engage in our classroom discus-*

sions. There are also no white students in our department. Yet it is my hypothesis that many women find it uncomfortable to explore their thoughts and personal theories about the world we live in.

According to a number of students in this study, their desire to become sociology majors began with a determination to change the world. These students looked to the discipline of sociology to help foster their plans, their ideas, and their own passions for a peaceful existence in the world. The women's concern with social issues and social change can clearly be seen in their thesis topics, and one of the more activist student organizations on campus, SASSAFRAS, is based in the sociology department.[1]

The interviews and focus groups, however, revealed deep frustrations among the women with their inability to make useful or apply in meaningful ways what they were learning to the issues about which they cared. Despite the stated service and social change mission of the college and the rearticulation of that mission throughout the college, there are tensions between the desire to produce women students who are ready and willing to be social change agents and the goal of "educating" them. This tension is inevitable because the very sociohistorical forces that created (and continue to create) the college's mission also make it difficult to fulfill that very institutional purpose. Always conscious of the larger academy's "dismissive eye," historically black colleges and universities often carry the burden of *proving* that they are up to the task (a task, ironically, generally acknowledged that black colleges and universities do well) of educating students to meet the challenges of graduate education or the professional work world (Phillips 1996). This double (Du Bois 1903) and triple consciousness (King 1988) forces the institution into placing a high premium on producing students who "know" their disciplines better than anyone could possibly expect. Therefore, the issue of coverage that many departments in most institutions grapple with has added layers of complexity for historically black colleges and universities. When considering the larger sociohistorical context in which Spelman College exists, the question then becomes, where is the room for the voices of the women in a theory course at Spelman College when there is so much theory to be learned? Many professors and administrators at the college have a fundamental understanding of the unforgiving scrutiny that operates at the core of racism and sexism. That understanding gets translated within the department and within the contemporary social theory classroom into a worry about students' mastering that conversation between and among theorists — primarily white or male — already in progress in the discipline.

Doss: *In spring 1998, I received my first assignment in Contemporary Social Theory. I was so thrilled to receive this assignment, not because the question was so wonderful but more so because I believed in the freedom that I thought was being presented to use throughout the first three weeks of the course. We were learning about the canon in sociology. The traditional placement of a few social theorists, white males, in the center of all* *social theory. Together as a class, we spoke of how limiting this perspective was and how it made it virtually impossible for "others" to have their voices heard. From this understanding, I ran off and excitedly set out to write my paper. My paper about how women and their families survive on welfare. My paper about how difficult it is for children to stay focused in school when their mothers are away from home and they are sent to be cared for by friends and relatives. My paper about how those in the sociology community of social thought are all racing to produce theory and in the process many voices go* unheard. . . .

A week had passed and the papers were returned but mine was not in the bunch. . . . I sat quiet for a moment. Then I turned to Lola. She looked at me half-smiling as if to say, "I told you not to turn that coloring book in." I sat and waited for Dr. Phillips to come back into the room, hoping that my paper would be among the next stack she brought in, but to my surprise she returned to the room empty-handed. Two weeks went by and Dr. Phillips finally explained to me that she was having difficulty grading my paper. The next week on Tuesday, the orange cover paper gleamed on her desk. Without a word spoken she handed back the paper. The noise, chaos, and confusion that filled the air in the room absorbed the silent scream that left my mouth hanging wide open as I stared in amazement at the "50%" written in bright red ink on the last page of my project. . . . I looked at Lola and together we shrugged our shoulders as if to say, "I guess it is better to be safe than sorry."

Phillips: *We have read and discussed* Making Ends Meet: How Single Mothers Survive Welfare and Low-Wage Work *(Edin and Lein 1997). We have also covered rational choice theories. What we argue in class is what the authors have done is to kind of use a rational choice argument that working-class and poor women make reasonable choices that are seen by many in the society as irrational and irresponsible decisions. I think that it is a really appropriate treatment of rational choice theory for the particular students I am teaching. The book is written by women and is about women. The study's coverage of the complexities of social class is really important to me, because some of the middle-class students have some interesting notions about how a working-class mother could save for her children's college educations if they just did not buy expensive meat.*

I receive Kysha's exam. She has submitted a coloring book as children of poor and working-class women might have done it. It is creative, it is well written, it is . . . different. I do know that in addition to being a full-time student, she works with children. For three weeks (and I apologize to her for taking so long to get her work back to her) I pick it up and put it back down, eventually deciding that because of a lack of explicit references to rational choice theory and the works discussed in class, she has not really answered the question and she has not indicated that she has connected to the discipline. I finally decide on a 50 percent. Half of it was there: the creativity, the passion, the ideas (all the stuff I had encouraged) — but where was the theory? Where was the sociology? Could she pass a GRE subject examination?

Doss: *Looking back on it now, I understand the words, the sociological jargon, that Phillips wanted me to understand. Those words, put together, made sense to me: rational choice theory. But to the women we read about, those choices are life choices. Those choices* *are the things they need to get done to live and survive. Those choices are not a theory held together as academic responses to their plight. This is the lesson I believed I was suppose to have gotten, as I was instructed to produce evidence of my understanding of the material. It was my experience that led me to speak on behalf of a poor family I personally knew. It was my voice I wanted to add to the conversation. Ultimately that "50%" silenced my voice, and I continued through the course — quietly.*

METHODOLOGY: INTERRELATEDNESS OF VOICE AND RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

All the women participating in the focus groups and interviews had completed the contemporary theory course during the Fall 1999 semester. The written work of the students came from students completing the course during the Fall 1999 and Spring 2000 semesters. We attempted to recruit students who had had varied experiences with the contemporary social theory course; therefore, students participating in the research had received the full range of grades. One student participating in a focus group had actually taken the course three times, the third being the charm. Telephone interviews seemed to work particularly well because students were accustomed to having conversations on the telephone. They were also comfortable with the physical distance provided by a phone conversation. The focus groups were audiotaped, and notes were taken during the phone conversations.[2]

We had very specific reasons for choosing focus groups and in-depth interviews as our techniques. First, the focus groups and interviews were done with the presumption that participants had ideas about their own education and that their insights were central to a better understanding of their experiences in the classrooms. Focus groups and interviews were actually the most efficient ways of communicating to the students that their *ideas* were important and valued.

Our second reason for choosing focus groups and interviews was our desire to ensure that the women's voices shaped the research from beginning to end. Dialogue, as a key tool of knowledge construction and sharing for black women (Hill Collins 2000), was the way in which "preresearch" ideas had been exchanged about sociological theory. It seemed, then, most appropriate to use focus groups and in-depth interviews as those techniques that would best facilitate the full expression of ideas and theorizing of experience.

Finally, because it was important to us that the students be seen as creators of "theory" (or as active theorizers), it was critical that their written work be included in this paper, as the written text is where ideas are most readily viewed as "knowledge," as opposed to "data." We do not include the women's examinations and other assignments in this paper as examples of assessment tools. Quite simply, the students' written work is included as examples of their work.[3]

CHARTING THE FAMILIAR: WHERE ARE MY IDEAS? WHERE IS MY LIFE? HOW IS THIS USEFUL?

One of the clear themes emerging from the students was the need for the worlds of knowledge with which they entered the theory classroom to be treated as valuable and important. The women saw the validation of their ideas and experiences as directly related to the degree to which they saw sociological theory as useful. These women also thought of sociological theory as a tool (as opposed to an end in and of itself) for understanding those worlds, for developing *and* challenging their own ideas, and (for some) for transforming what was unjust in those worlds. When confronted with a body of knowledge already constructed as overwhelmingly white and male, however, the women were almost by definition entering into foreign or unfamiliar territory. In addition, *theory* is often assumed to be a product of deep contemplation of the world done in a kind of solitary confinement; one emerges from this confinement with grand insights stated in obscure terms (Sprague 1997). This combination — of popular notions of how theory happens without dialogue with others, plus the whiteness and maleness of theory in sociology — made connecting to it all very difficult. One woman described her relationship to sociological theory by asserting that she had "a good understanding of . . . Karl Marx and then there was that guy with the suicide study, but honestly after those classes, I really just forgot much of what we were tested on." She argued that if it is not made clear that they are "expected to *use* what they learned" the "information [is rendered] kind of meaningless." Another student shared that the challenge of "memorizing names and theories [did not allow her] to explore all of the good material" in the theory-based courses she had taken.

The importance of theory as having some usefulness and purpose in their own lives emerged time and time again throughout the focus groups and interviews. Another woman found Becky Thompson's study (1994) of eating problems among a diverse sample of women useful because she began to "think about the ways I see my own body." She was able to see how her relationship to her body was impacted by a complex set of factors embedded in African American cultural and familial expectations. What was particularly telling about her personal connection to the study was that thinking about her body within social and historical contexts made her feel like a "competent sociologist." When asked why she felt she could "own" the title of sociologist, she responded, "Because I took it and applied it to my life, which is a social life. And since sociology is a very living subject, for me to be able to analyze myself like that, I must be doing something right."

The importance of the familiar is further illustrated by student Halima Roebuck's description of the *lack* of the familiar in a text and assignment. In a kind of prescript to her response to a question about a Belinda Robnett study (1997) about women in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) function-ing as bridge leaders during the civil rights movement, Roebuck pondered why the writing is so difficult:[4]

> At this very unrewarding moment I am stuck between a keyboard and a mouse pad. I have backspaced a steady stream of ideas and deleted most of my creativity into a cyber trash bin. . . . My job is to discuss a topic that I have little personal knowledge about. With most assignments, there is a certain familiarity. I usually feel as if I know the topic well enough to feel connected and disconnected enough to be objective. This time it is different. This time the subject matter has erased that duality and replaced it with a unilateral disconnection between myself and my studies.

Why would a study about women in the civil rights movement be unfamiliar in a classroom of black women? Well, one variable is certainly age. As one colleague noted, for many students between the ages of 18 and 22, "all of the 20th century is history." Another factor is the rich ethnic diversity in the student body. Although on official documents that 94 percent of Spelman students are "African American," the truth is that the women bring to the classroom a complex set of regional, transnational, social class, ethnic, and racial identities and experiences. In another assignment in which she situates her own thesis — a social history of racial and skin color distinctions among Puerto Ricans — within the context of her times, Roebuck writes:

> Every individual is a composition of a "both/and" dichotomy. My personal construction is being both black *and* Hispanic. The unresolved problem is the feeling that I am not Hispanic enough. . . . W.E.B. Du Bois talks about the "double consciousness." He discusses the plight of both being a Negro and an American. I feel like I too experience that duality. I am both Hispanic and African American. I eat greens and *arroz con pollo*. I feel like I have always been black and that society has treated me as such. Now it is time to examine my Hispanic roots as I begin to redefine myself. . . .
>
> Yes, I am an African American. *Si, soy una Hispana.*

After Roebuck makes clear the relationship between her own personal biography and the way in which she reads the study about the African American women in the civil rights movement, she goes on to write about the major findings of the study in a thoughtful and thorough manner. Naming the wall of unfamiliarity that stood between her and a particular study, however, seems to have given Roebuck the intellectual space to develop and explore her own ideas about experiences from which she had so much distance.

One of the risks in sharing research findings about black students is the possibility of somehow reproducing existing stereotypes about them. One possibility is that they will be perceived as being comfortable only talking about their own lives and that (unlike, of course, other students) they are afraid to venture out of their own "narrow" worlds (unlike, of course, the not-so-narrow worlds of other students). When these women students talk about the power of the familiar in

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moving through — and owning — their sociology majors, however, they do not mean that they are comfortable only within their own experiences. They are not arguing for a classroom in which they study only what they already "know." The familiar is not "personal experience." For example, student Celina Stewart wrote that Becky Thompson's work (1994) was important for her in that she was able to "empathize with women who beforehand [you] look at as 'other,' 'that is not me,' and 'they have a problem.' I realize that everyone has her story and has something [she is] dealing with."

The commodification and globalization of black youth culture gives many a sense that we all know what black young people think. A very complex and varied culture gets reduced in the public eye to hip hop, slang, and styles of dress. But for these students, the familiar could not be reduced to popular culture. The familiar was their ideas formed within their varied and particular sociohistorical contexts. For example, students spoke positively about Ideas Inside History, a group assignment that asks them to sharpen their theses plans by clarifying their "times." As Ronella Ellis said, "I had never thought about my own ideas that deeply before." They are asked in this assignment to think about *how* they came to ask their sociological questions. What are the personal influences? What are the significant political, social, cultural, and intellectual events of their times? How did these events shape their thesis questions? Although students in focus groups thought the assignment a difficult one, they expressed appreciation that the assignment began with the familiar, i.e., *their* work and their own notions about what constituted "their" times. Some of the more commonly cited social events shaping their times and their work were decolonization movements in Africa, the impact of AIDS/HIV on their attitudes toward marriage and relationships, the power of media to shape images and perceptions of black people, and the women's movement. Student Dyka Robinson wrote that her interest in the sometimes troubled passage of young black boys through high school was related to the preponderance and widespread transmission of "negative images" of black males on television and the rap of the 1980s. Ruha Benjamin, who had spent a summer in Liberia studying theater as a medium for social commentary, saw increasingly sophisticated media technology as being directly related to a "growing trend toward cultural heterogeneity in the performing arts in Liberia and television images in the United States." Although Robinson and Benjamin had very different research topics, both of them rooted their work in their own experiencing of the technological advances of recent decades.

FORGETTING THEM: MAKING SPACE IN THE SOCIAL THEORY CLASSROOM FOR THE STUDENTS

Doss: *Students have to be willing to open up and trust that they have a valid claim to expect the most of their professors. Professors have a responsibility to encourage more inde-*

pendent thinking from their students. It is time for us to break from routine and tradition and explore more alternative ways to experience the learning process.

Students were very clear about the kind of classroom environment that would best facilitate their development as social theorists. They suggested that less emphasis on learning names of sociologists and more emphasis on *ideas* and the sociohistorical contexts out of which those ideas emerged were very helpful as they thought through their own research projects. The women also expressed an intellectual need for a classroom community in which they could converse freely. However, the fear that what they had to say either did not directly apply to the material or was too personal to speak about in the classroom kept them silent and distant from theory.

One woman did report finally feeling comfortable in the social theory classroom when she was asked the simple question, "What does the study mean to *you?*" This student commented that "being a sociology major . . . it is expected that you cover a lot of different topics . . . but [rarely is the topic] ourselves." Her peers shared this student's fears. Another woman stated that "I wanted to know where my ideas fit into what [the professors] were trying to teach me. What about my thoughts on this and on that. . . . How do I analyze things? My teachers never thought to ask that." Asserting the importance of dialogue and discussion in the classroom, another student observed, "We have a lot of smart professors in the department but sometimes it would be nice to have them appreciate and open up to what we have to say about the things we learn in class."

Moving Toward the Familiar: From Sociological Theory to Social Theory . . . From Theory to Theorizing

Throughout years of blank and sometimes angry faces, troubling thesis meetings, conversations among students in those quiet places where students name their own experiences within their departments — in addition to the two years of this research — several changes have been made in the course. First, in an effort to broaden the landscape of who theorizes and in response to the increase in double majors (primarily political science, fine arts, and biology), the course readings have increasingly drawn on the rich traditions of *social* theorizing in a variety of disciplines. This change, in part, has been made possible by an increased availability of textbooks that have shifted the emphasis from sociological theory to social theory, thereby clearing out space for a wider range of theorists.

What we learned from the women was that the discipline can seem unfamiliar in all the inertia/"completeness" that the term *the discipline* implies. *The discipline* comes to them in perfectly packaged textbooks and theories, and their role as students is simply to *consume* it. In response, the first set of readings has expanded to include an article by Joe Feagin, 1999 president of the American Sociological Association, in which he lays bare *the discipline*'s own unresolved struggles with racial and gender hierarchies (1999). These contemporary struggles as outlined by Feagin, along with C.W. Mills's 1959 critique of sociology, offer the students a peek into a discipline perhaps unafraid to look at itself and ask difficult questions. Feagin's and Mills's revelations of ragged edges reveal the possibility of transformation — and openings for new and different voices. The first set of readings for the course also includes "The Race for Theory" (1983) by Barbara Christian (a literary critic) and Joey Sprague's "Holy Men and Big Guns: The Can[n]on in Social Theory" (1997). All these readings critique hierarchies created in the academy, with Sprague and Christian describing those hierarchies as rooted in racial and gender inequities. Christian and Lemert (1998) also argue (albeit in different ways) that theorizing the social world is not an activity that is restricted to "professional" theorists, but that making sense of one's world is indeed as much a part of life as breathing.

Another change in the course has been to require studies by women who are in conversation with a discipline but are contesting some of the theories in the discipline. Belinda Robnett's (1997) study of women as bridge leaders in SNCC was chosen as a text for the class because of the conversation she is having with resource mobilization theory (Zald and Ash 1966) and Aldon Morris's indigenous theory of social movements (1984). Cathy Cohen's study (1999), *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*, lays out models of power and authority traditionally used in political science and then offers an alternative model. As a junior in the Spring 2000 contemporary theory class wrote:

> Cohen and Robnett wanted to say something about social movements and decided to write about it. *Boundaries of Blackness* and *How Long? How Long?* were written to confront, question traditional ways of conceptualizing power, influence, and take a good look at the complexities of indigenous institutions. Most important, both *Boundaries of Blackness* and *How Long? How Long?* offer solutions for future social movements by acknowledging the past. (Danielle Herring)

Other students expressed an appreciation for the model provided in the Cohen and Thompson studies of women "talking back" to their disciplines. For example, Adrianne Hull wrote that Thompson "complicates traditional questions and language about eating disorders/problems" and found it noteworthy that Thompson "uses the women's stories to propose new body theories rather than framing their stories around her own theories." Similarly, Nyka Wiseman wrote of her admiration of Thompson's efforts to propose another way of thinking about women's bodies: "As scholars . . . we can appreciate the methodology that Thompson has taken on in disassembling [academic, medial, and popular] discourse [about women's bodies]."

Placing the students' knowledge and experiences at the center of a social theory classroom requires some flexibility in examination design. For example, one examination question asked, "Keisha and Linda are both doing work on skin color and dating in the Atlanta University Center. How *might* exchange theory (Blau 1964) be used to guide their work? Is Bourdieu's concept of social capital (Münch 1994) relevant for their work? How do Keisha's and Linda's works transform these theories?" This question clearly emerged out of the students' own work but did not suggest that they *must* use these theories in that work. The question simply asked the class to do two things: first, pay attention to what other students had to say, and second, be in conversation mode (not regurgitation mode) with the discipline. This is not a question that had been asked before, and because classroom composition changes from semester to semester, it may not be possible to ask the question in quite the same way again. But the point is that it is a question that links the familiar (i.e., their own theorizing) with sociological theory.

Another example of this kind of flexibility was a question reflecting a classroom discussion that began with Foucalt's "Discourse on the West" (1971) and moved to Becky Thompson's critique of dominant cultural and scientific discourse around eating "disorders." The discussion then ambled to the possibility that an Oprah-like treatment of Thompson's study would be a contemporary case study of Weber's "capitalist spirit" (1905) morphed into a *you can achieve it* mantra, with *it* being healthy eating. The examination question asked the students to write about what they had already imagined: Becky Thompson on a talk show, trying to explain (as one student described it, constantly interrupted by commercials and Oprah) a study that has an "open-ended and multiangled approach to interviewing." Again, the question came out of the student-led discussion and is premised on the validity of their ideas.

Lessons Learned and Lessons Taught: The Problem With Talking About "Minorities" or Students of Color "in" "Sociology"

There are certain aspects of the research reported here, as with *all* research about teaching and learning, that are specific to its institutional context. Spelman College is a small liberal arts college, and theory classes tend to have an average of 18 students per semester. The institutional mission converges nicely with the fields of sociology and anthropology in their focus on social justice and social organization. The sociology and anthropology department is a small department with approximately 70 majors and minors. These small numbers may facilitate any efforts of professors to shape a course rooted in the ideas and knowledge that students bring to the subject. Take-home essay examinations are workable in small classes, while they may be difficult in large classes. In addition, having the familiar as a central concept defining pedagogy at Spelman College results in perhaps an overrepresentation of critical theorists in the syllabus. Therefore (for example) there is very little discussion of neofunctionalist thought.

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The benefit of placing students at the center of teaching and learning is not a new subject (see, e.g., Aaren 1998; Maher and Tetreault 1994). Although we are wary of generalizing the findings of the research reported in this paper, there were lessons learned and taught during our particular metajourney others might find useful.

One lesson learned and taught is that it is very useful to be honest about the incredible whiteness and maleness of the "sociology" captured within the covers of many textbooks. The women in this study were certainly aware of their absence in most texts they had encountered throughout their major. If that absence is named, then it becomes a point of inquiry *and* action instead of the de facto defining quality of sociology.

Another valuable lesson taught and learned is how critical it is for professors and departments to have some sense of how students of color and women *see and name themselves*. The Ideas Inside History exercise was really useful in getting the class — professor and students — to use our sociological imaginations to in fact imagine our lives, our ideas, and our priorities within a larger context. The sorting out of social, cultural, and biographical influences on students' ideas and identities yields important information that may give professors a firmer sense of what texts, assignments, or issues would serve as intellectual bridges to sociology. The Ideas exercise also enables professors to place themselves in sociohistorical context and promotes an honesty that is integral to freeing up space in the classroom for students.

Phillips: *Students seemed to have appreciated my eventual forthrightness about my own feminist ideological and political perspective and the experiences that have shaped my own ideas. I have also become more honest about my own particular intellectual struggle in deciding the exact purposes (beyond learning and teaching theory) of a sociological/social theory class. What I hope to communicate to students with this kind of inside look into pedagogy is that intellectual journeys do not travel linear paths from "not knowing" to magically "knowing" and to reinforce the importance of their ideas as I work through questions I have.*

The third lesson learned and taught was that while it was probably important for the black women students to read studies about gender and race, it was equally important that these studies be examples of researchers clearly contesting existing paradigms about race and gender. Reading the work of Cohen (1999), Thompson (1994), and Omi and Winant (1994) seemed to have given the women in this study permission to sort through and speak their own thoughts.

But having responded to this volume's theme of *student of color* — a phrase often used interchangeably with *minority* — representation, we must admit to some discomfort with the language of the theme and would respond to the question of student of color/minority representation with some questions of our own: Is it possible for "sociology" to increase its visibility in different areas of political and social life so that students are not introduced to sociology for the first time in the classroom? So that sociology becomes part of their familiar? Is it possible to reframe the question in less static terms so as not to connote a folding of new bodies into the graduate school machinery to emerge only as well-trained sociologists? How might the question of representation be reframed as a disciplinary hope for continued transformation of itself that is only possible with increased representation? Is it possible to even not talk about *representation*, a concept that smacks of tokenism and/or a multicultural smorgasbord of colors? How might sociology be more reflective of the diversity that *already* exists within the discipline? How might an invitation to sociology be extended as an invitation to a storehouse of tools that might be useful for students' own goals? (Berger 1963). Is it possible that many students of color and women do not see themselves as "minorities"? Is it possible for the discipline to think about the alienation that might result from the very language used in its efforts to include "others"?

Behavioral outcomes are those statements on syllabi that are supposed to show that the instructor has thought about what students are to get out of the course. As we think about this research and listen to the women, perhaps classrooms that support and validate the familiar will have as outcomes students who are better equipped to negotiate their worlds in a critical and thoughtful manner. Another outcome might be professors who are better teachers. As sociology majors go into other professions and graduate programs, maybe they will enrich those areas of study with the analytical and theoretical gifts sociology has to offer. Maybe, just maybe, another outcome may be more professional sociologists of color. Who knows? As a consequence of that increased number, *the discipline* of sociology may increase its representation of voices, experiences, and ways of knowing.

Notes

1. SASSAFRAS was organized by the students in 1998, changing its name from the Sociology Club. The group's various projects have included a demonstration against objectification of women in the annual homecoming fashion show sponsored by another institution in the Atlanta University Center. SASSAFRAS also organized a week of activities entitled Thinking Outside the Box. One activity during that week was a panel discussion with activists in the black farmers' movement who had just returned from Cuba. Another activity during the week was a town hall meeting where developers, city officials, school board members, and college administrators gave presentations about development of the Atlanta University Center area. Students had many questions about the changes in the area and asked panelists to respond to questions about the displacement and removal of low-income residents from the neighborhoods surrounding the college. SASSAFRAS is open to all students, regardless of major.

2. One problem with the focus groups and interviews is self-selection. It is possible that women who were so very alienated by theory and the social theory courses would not be inclined to want to talk about that alienation for a couple of hours. However, it was

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important to us that there be a fit between the women's voices and methods.

3. Contributing their work and ideas to this research in the form of written assignments were the following students: Ruha Benjamin ("Theory for the People," Contemporary Social Theory examination, Spring 2000); Ruha Benjamin, Dyka Robinson, Keshia Pulliam, and Halima Roebuck ("Creating a Context," Ideas Inside History assignment, 2000); Danielle Herring (Contemporary Social Theory final examination, 2000); Adrianne Hull ("Widening the Scope," Contemporary Social Theory examination, 1999); Halima Roebuck ("Lessons for the Future," writing assignment, and Contemporary Social Theory examination, 2000); Celina Stewart (Contemporary Social Theory Examination, 1999); and Nyka Wiseman ("Disrupting Discourse," Contemporary Social Theory examination, 1999).

4. Some other books used in the class over the years include *Racial Situations: Class Predicaments of Whiteness in Detroit* (Hartigan 1999), *Racial Formation in the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s* (Omi and Winant 1994), *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith and Billie Holiday* (Davis 1998), and *The Quest of the Silver Fleece* (Du Bois 1989/1911). Although *Quest* was published in 1911 and the contemporary social theory course begins with 1960, I thought it important for us to explore theorizing in novel form. Sociological/social theory textbooks are used as reference books. In addition to Lemert's volume (1998), Wallace and Wolf's *Contemporary Sociological Theory: Expanding the Classical Tradition* (1999) is sometimes used for the class.

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Relationships, Success, and Community College Students of Color

Richard Bucher

As the cultural landscape of the United States changes dramatically, college campuses are becoming more diverse. This trend is expected to continue well into the millennium. Today, students in higher education do not fit the homogenous profile of the "traditional" college student. Students are now more heterogeneous in terms of their race, gender, age, socioeconomic status, and other background characteristics. There is a significant and increasing number of students of color and more diversity among students of color. In addition, the student population is more ethnically diverse and includes more people with disabilities as well as more women.

Other dimensions of the changing student population include students' diverse family circumstances, their role set, and their college environments. More older students are returning to college while working and caring for children. Many attend college part time and commute rather than live on campus. For many students, their college of choice is a two-year rather than a four-year institution. Roughly 44 percent of undergraduates attend community colleges (American Association of Community Colleges 2000: 1). The affordability, accessibility, and "open doors" of community colleges have cultivated a degree of diversity not found elsewhere in higher education. Community colleges have reached out to individuals who are economically disadvantaged, have severe academic deficiencies, represent a wide variety of racial and ethnic minorities, and come from families with no college background. Compared with students at four-year colleges, community college students tend to be older, with an average age of 29 years (2000: 1). Nearly half of all students of color in higher education are enrolled in community colleges. This figure includes 46 percent of all African American students in higher education, 55 percent of all Hispanics, 46 percent of all Asian Pacific Islanders, and 55 percent of all Native Americans (2000: 1).

The central thesis of this paper is that students of color, particularly those at community colleges, need to develop a number of strong, meaningful relationships to be successful in sociology. Included are relationships with teachers, subject matter, and fellow students. Although the focus is on students of color taking sociology courses at community colleges, many of the issues cut across disciplines and institutional types.

Review of the Literature

One common finding of studies that examine students' persistence and development is the critical importance of *integrating experiences* that connect students to the college as well as the classroom (Astin 1993; Pace 1984; Pascarella and Terenzini 1991). Studies show that "students who feel socially isolated or alienated from their institutions are more apt to drop out or fail" (Conciatore 1991: 40).

In a study by Hurtado and Carter (1997), Latino students' discussion of course content with other students outside class was strongly associated with their sense of belonging. A year-long investigation by Kuh et al. (1991) describes those colleges that are highly successful in creating positive campus climates. These so-called *involving colleges* create a "sense of belonging" — a feeling on the part of students that the institution acknowledges the human needs of social and psychological comfort and that the students are full and valued members in the campus community (321).

Much of the research on the success of students of color has focused on diversity and the way in which diversity is institutionalized. More specifically, research has shown that institutional changes in the area of diversity, including climate, curriculum, faculty-student and peer-student interactions, and efforts to diversify faculty and staff, are related to students' academic success and cognitive development, regardless of discipline or students' major (Alger et al. 2000; Appel et al. 1996; Astin 1993).

Findings from three research studies on diversity in college classrooms show that although the majority of faculty feel well prepared to teach racially and ethnically diverse classes, considerably fewer said they raise issues of diversity, adjust course content, or create diverse work groups in such classes (Alger et al. 2000: 4). Although these studies examined four-year colleges and universities, an earlier study found that community colleges are doing less to infuse multicultural content into the curricula than are four-year institutions (Levine and Cureton 1992: 27).

Research into the area of student success has consistently shown that the greater the contact between teacher and student, the greater the likelihood of student success (Richardson, Simmons, and de los Santos 1987; Tinto 1995). The classroom certainly provides the foundation for frequent, supportive contact. If the student does not feel connected in the classroom, he or she is apt to feel excluded in other areas of college life.

Rather than just focusing on barriers to student success, research has also examined those institutions that are promoting the persistence and success of underrepresented racial minorities. One such study identified a number of factors conducive to doing so (Richardson, Simmons, and de los Santos 1987), including (1) viewing minority achievement as a "preparation problem rather than a racial problem" (21), (2) strong faculty and administrative commitment that moves from tolerance ("they're here") to acceptance ("let's work with them") (23), and (3) strategies that are comprehensive and systematic rather than fragmented and sporadic.

Other studies have examined innovative retention programs for high-risk students such as the Gateway Program at Rutgers University. Before the program was initiated in 1987-88, many high-risk students, especially graduates of large urban school systems, received unsatisfactory grades in introductory lecture courses, including Sociology 101. The Gateway Program offers these students college-level coursework under positive conditions. Specifically, class size is smaller (no more than 15 students), class time each week is longer, and instructors are selected on the basis of their experience and willingness to work with this type of student. Also, the goals of Gateway courses are broader and include improvement in students' study and note-taking skills as well as written and oral communication skills. Instructors are expected to help students cope with difficulties they may be having adjusting to college and work with an extensive system of student support services. Since the Gateway Program was established, the rate of unsatisfactory performance by underprepared students taking Sociology 101 has been reduced dramatically (Parelius 1992: 156).

Research indicates that traditional teaching practices may have an unintended and unacknowledged impact on nontraditional students. Faculty may assume that their teaching style is neutral, when in fact it limits opportunities for learning and success for students from culturally diverse backgrounds. Uri Treisman, a researcher at the University of California at Berkeley, found that black students at his institution had a history of performing poorly in calculus. When questioned by Treisman, faculty pointed to students' inadequate preparation, lack of family support, and influence of social class and income. Research by Treisman uncovered a different set of explanations. He found that certain minority students are academic loners, struggling with the subject matter without asking for help. Academic achievement carried a negative social prestige. Treisman's findings indicate that structured student group work, both in and out of class, significantly increased the achievement of black students (Nelson 1996). Although Treisman focused on students taking math, his findings have implications for sociology as well as other disciplines.

According to Vincent Tinto, author of a number of definitive studies on retention issues, one of the major problems students of color encounter is an atmosphere of racism and discrimination (Townsend 1994: 85). In *The Agony of Education*, Feagin, Vera, and Imani (1996) discuss findings from their analysis of the experiences of black students on white college campuses. The authors describe black students' being treated as intruders on campus and argue that both subtle and blatant racism permeate colleges and universities. Black students in randomly selected focus groups described a racially exclusive campus community, "from university publications to the daily rhythm of life on campus," and talked about the many symbols, comments, and actions that suggested they did not belong (173).

The exposure of racial minorities to a climate of prejudice and discrimination in the classroom and on campus has gained an increasing amount of attention. Findings from a number of studies show that this is a significant factor in the achievement and retention gap between minorities and nonminorities (Hurtado 1994; Hurtado, Carter, and Spuler 1996; Smedley, Myers, and Harrell 1993). A climate of prejudice and discrimination may not only be a source of stress for students but also interfere with their integration into social and academic environments.

Howard Ehrlich, research director at the Prejudice Institute, reviewed research on the prevalence of prejudice-related incidents at a number of college campuses. Based on his findings, Ehrlich estimates that one in four minority students is "victimized for reasons of prejudice" (1992: 8). Furthermore, many of these students report that prejudice interferes with their ability to concentrate on their studies.

In spite of what some students describe as their daily encounters with subtle forms of discrimination or microinequities, they may have few opportunities to share their feelings of victimization with the college community. A survey of more than 5,000 students attending predominantly white and predominantly black institutions revealed that black students reported few formal opportunities provided by their colleges to express concerns about campus climate (Abraham 1991).

Methods

In a case study involving Baltimore City Community College (BCCC), a state-sponsored community college serving primarily the residents and business community of Baltimore, Maryland, 25 former and current BCCC students of color were arbitrarily assigned to one of six focus groups. Ranging in size from three to six people, focus groups comprised entirely students who have taken or are taking Introduction to Sociology. Students had varying degrees of success in sociology, and one group was made up entirely of BCCC graduates.

Focus groups provided me with the structure and flexibility needed to probe deeply into areas of interest and to investigate new insights. Given the topic under discussion and the emotional, sensitive issues associated with race, focus groups enhanced communication and allowed for an open interchange of numerous, diverse voices.

Given the void that exists in the literature on improving success among students of color in community colleges, a case study of this nature seems appropriate. Although surveys are often used to collect data on student success, it is important to consider a variety of methodologies. According to Feagin, Orum, and Sjoberg (1991), a case study "provides a richness and depth to the description and analysis" (6). This is important, considering the lack of qualitative data available and the need for more investigation into possible explanatory variables.

The racial composition of BCCC's faculty and students is diverse. The BCCC faculty includes whites (48%), African Americans (45%), Hispanics (1%), and other (6%) (BCCC 2000). Students reflect a wide range of socioeconomic, cultural, and academic backgrounds. The student population is predominantly female (76%) and African American (88%), with an average age of 30 (BCCC 2000). A majority of students work full time or part time while taking a full or nearly a full load of courses. Many have family responsibilities. Students commute to school, and most of them work in the community. The two primary reasons students cite for choosing to enroll at BCCC over other colleges and universities are affordability and the school's proximity to home (BCCC in-class student survey, Spring 1999).

Findings

Although students in each group tended to focus on different issues and concerns, a distinct pattern emerged. The issue of relationships was addressed time and time again. More specifically, students focused on relationships with their teachers, the subject matter of sociology, and other students. At the same time, they were very much aware of how these relationships were influenced by their relationships to the institution and local community. In the discussion that follows, the term *students*, unless otherwise specified, refers to students of color who participated in this study.

COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS AND STUDENT SUCCESS

> When I look at many BCCC students today, I see a number of students who remind me of myself when I started this school — single parent with a small child, on social service — now it's different. It's welfare to work but very similar. Struggling, trying to work, take care of a child, run the child to daycare. The bus driver used to wait for me while I ran my child into the daycare center so I could get back on the bus. I caught the 19, 13, the 8, dropped my child off, and then caught the 8 to the 22 to school every day. And that is the reality. (Group 4, Student 7)

In a recent newspaper article in *The Baltimore Sun*, a four-year college student commented, "When you're in college, you live in a bubble. You sometimes forget that there is a real world" (Stanton 2000: 3C). Unlike this student and many others attending four-year colleges, there is no such bifurcation between college life and the "real world" for most community college students. They learn and struggle in the real world on a daily basis. For some, part of this struggle stems from the fact that a community college is a neighborhood school. One student elaborated, "So therefore you're still with the same people from your neighborhood,

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the same friends that you're trying to get away from. . . . It's hard for me, because if I slip and just get to hanging out for a minute, it will be a constant thing. I have to be more disciplined" (Group 5, Student 2).

Often, students in the focus groups discussed success in the context of students' ongoing relationships with their neighborhood communities. One BCCC student discussed his environment and the role it plays in motivating students to succeed:

> There was a time when I had a desire to excel, but then all that changed over a period of time where, "why should I go to school to learn to become this or become that when I can stand right on the corner and make thousands and thousands of dollars, and become a millionaire if you do it right." I mean that's the belief that's in the hood. Why should these guys come here to get an education, and excel? (Group 1, Student 3)

Focus groups pointed to expectations and assumptions rooted in their communities as another critical component of student success. A feeling echoed time and again was, "What students of color get out there is that 'you can't do it'" (Group 2, Student 1). Many students felt that they had to deal with an attitude, particularly among their peers, that equated student success with "selling out" or "acting white." As an example, one female student discussed girlfriends in her neighborhood who graduated with her from high school:

> And I run into them, and they go, "Oh you think you're white, you think you're this." And I say, "Why do you feel this way?" Because I am in school, because I want to get out of this neighborhood, because it disgusts me when I come home every day and I see guys I went to school with standing on the corner. (Group 6, Student 2)

Given the external pressures that support failure rather than success, it is not surprising that some students internalize these expectations and set limits on themselves. For example, a student remarked:

> I think students of color [at BCCC] limit themselves far too often. When I talk to students about going to law school and making money, . . . they look at me like "what in the world are you talking about." They tell me I'm aiming too high. They say, "Do you know how hard that is to do?" But I'm looking like, OK, life is not going to get any easier, so why are they limiting themselves? I hear, "Oh well, I'm going to finish BCCC and I'm going to get a job." That's it? You don't want to go any farther? They put the limits on themselves, and they restrain themselves. (Group 6, Student 2)

STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS WITH TEACHERS

> I have a lot of teachers who encourage me, because most of the ones I had knew what kind of student I was. Even when things are

> not going so well for me, I still keep in contact with them because sometimes I need that encouragement. I have close ties to them, and whenever I see them we can always have a conversation. Most times, they ask me how I'm doing. Whether I'm doing bad or good, I still tell them. And if I'm doing bad, they encourage me. (Group 2, Student 2)

According to some students, expectations on the part of some faculty, in sociology and other disciplines, contribute to a climate that may or may not empower them. Students cited numerous examples of instructors who sincerely believed in students' abilities and potential and constantly pushed them to do more, even after they graduated from BCCC. Some students pointed to subtle differences that sometimes distinguish black and white instructors. As a group, black instructors were characterized as being more demanding and stricter, while white instructors tended to be more liberal with grades and more apt to play it safe. Students suggested that perhaps these white instructors find themselves walking on eggshells and steering clear of situations in which they might be perceived as racially biased.

According to one student, instructors' standards may not be lower for students of color, just different. He added:

> My experiences were as an African American in the classroom; if I project my opinion and I do it respectfully and grammatically correct, it's easier to raise a teacher's eyebrow like, "wow, did that come from him?" I don't think it's in a derogatory way, at least not intentionally. They thought I would be status quo. (Group 4, Student 5)

Many students who experienced success recalled how cultural diversity was acknowledged and valued in sociology class:

> My instructor made me feel proud. . . . She asked everyone to bring to class their favorite cultural music tape/CD. She played each one and asked the students to analyze its significance to them and their culture. This made me feel proud of my cultural heritage, and it gave me an opportunity to bring to other people some kind of knowledge about my cultural heritage. It also contributed to my success in class because I felt more relaxed when speaking to the class because my fellow students now knew where I am coming from. (Group 2, Student 1)

When I asked students what conveys to them that an instructor values their culture, their responses dealt with both pedagogy and content. According to one student, her sociology instructor made her feel included and proud. She and other students, for example, were asked to teach the class different cultural greetings. She said, "It really made me feel important. If my language all the way from Africa could be given an audience in class to the extent of even asking it as one of the exam questions, it means that I am worth somebody and it will never be forgotten" (Group 3, Student 1).

Another student observed cultural validation through the intricacies of interaction and the critical importance of listening.

> For me, it was the interaction with the class, with the students. It was the openness of the content of the discussion. I also respected the time that was given for us to answer, and the answers weren't taken haphazardly. You really felt like you were listened to, not only by the instructor but by the rest of the students, because of the instructor's input. (Group 5, Student 3)

When diversity is infused into sociology, in terms of content or pedagogy, the implications are readily discernible by students of color. In some cases, the infusion of diversity can be subtle and almost seamless. Often, students view instructors who have a certain comfort level with diversity as being more open, interactive, and inclusive. More specifically, a student suggested that faculty "be open enough that students will 'step to you' if they're having problems with the way you teach" (Group 5, Student 3). According to another student, "You need to have that open-mindedness to accommodate students, because so many of them come in with issues. There are so many factors that shape and mold them" (Group 5, Student 5).

Some focus groups discussed instructors' teaching methodologies in light of students' varied learning styles and life situations. For example, some faculty at BCCC have created websites so that if students cannot attend class, they can still access assignments and keep in touch on a regular basis. Another student commented:

> I appreciate the way [the sociology instructor] expresses his inner self, shows weaknesses and feelings, which is good because it shows that no one is perfect, not even our teacher. And sometimes students like to see that humanity in teachers, and that is good. They're reachable to students. (Group 1, Student 1)

STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE SUBJECT MATTER

"Sociology has to be brought down to that level where students see it, they can relate to it, they can connect with it" (Group 6, Student 2). When students of color connect with sociology, the results can be profound. Sociology broadens one's perspective and cultivates a sense of empowerment. For example, one student described how the "light bulbs just went off" in Introduction to Sociology:

> That class taught me so much about life. Because of my upbringing, I had been sheltered in a lot of areas of my life. A lot of discussions in class, about poverty, black people, race — I never dealt with that stuff so it was all new to me. My horizon was broadened so much because my instructor was so into diversity, people, life; it was an amazing thing. (Group 4, Student 5)

Considering the extreme social isolation of some community college students, sociology can open up heretofore unknown worlds. According to one student, "I'm almost 52 years old. I've been in Maryland almost all of my life. Once I went to DC. So learning about culture and different places in the world fascinates me" (Group 1, Student 3).

Research indicates that goal setting plays an extremely important role in the academic achievement of students of color (Smith 1999). If students' life experiences are severely limited, it follows that they may be unable to fathom the wide variety of opportunities they have. Exposure to the sociological perspective may help students identify, clarify, and set goals. Therefore, students in an introductory level sociology course need to understand that developing a sociological perspective is a success skill that will pay dividends at school and in their personal and professional lives.

Many students talked about the connection they feel with the subject matter of sociology. For example, student comments such as "sociology is an emotional course" or "sociology empowers people who feel powerless" or "sociology is about me, my life" illustrate that learning sociology is both an affective and cognitive process. At the same time, some students did not see themselves or "their people" fully or accurately represented by the field of sociology and took issue with the way sociology portrays their life experiences: "We need to know more about ourselves in terms of how students of color fit into this world. We don't need to hear it from just one perspective" (Group 6, Student 1). "Sociology singles us out; it portrays us as victims, underachievers, poor inner-city kids" (Group 5, Student 2).

STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER STUDENTS

Students repeatedly discussed the difference it made when they became actively involved with student groups that met both in and out of class. Their comments illustrate the value of cooperative learning, small groups whose members work together to maximize their own and one another's learning. As an instructional strategy, research shows that it is not enough to simply require students to work in groups; rather, faculty need to facilitate structured cooperation among heterogeneous students (Johnson, Johnson, and Smith 1991). One critically important side effect of this kind of grouping, according to some students, is that it "opened them up," increased their confidence, and gave them a voice, a voice that may be muted or denied elsewhere.

In one focus group, a student talked about a student study group that was formed in his Introduction to Sociology class. The catalyst, according to the student, was an instructor who pushed the idea of teamwork, integrated this idea into the curriculum, and facilitated networking in and out of class. As stated earlier, findings from research by Treisman show that this type of peer support can have profound implications for the academic success of students of color (Nelson 1996). According to the student, what made this team of six students so effective was that they were goal driven, developed friendships and learned about one another on a more personal level, passed the "lead" around, "demystified the sociological jargon they needed to know," and knew that "each person had a right to ask a question of anyone" and not feel stupid in doing so.

At community colleges, certain factors may work against study groups. In many cases, students may be less apt to form a study group due to their work and family responsibilities and the accessibility of their teachers, and because they commute and go their separate ways after class. Community college teachers may have to provide more incentive and support for group work, both in and out of class.

Discussion and Recommendations

Any effort on the part of faculty to promote the success of students of color needs to begin by examining the relationships addressed by students in the focus groups. Faculty need to reexamine what they teach and how they teach, their perceptions of students, their roles and responsibilities as teachers, and even their definitions of success.

For example, faculty cannot assume that students' definitions of success mirror their own, now or when they were in college. Definitions of student success may vary significantly from individual to individual, group to group, and even institution to institution. Student success is usually defined in terms of academic achievement or educational attainment. When studying community college students, it is important for educators to adopt multiple and more sensitive measures of success that go beyond developing superior academic skills and subject mastery or earning degrees in a specified period of time. For example, success for some students may mean being the first person in their family to get a college degree or being a positive role model for their children. For others, it may mean transferring to a four-year institution or getting a good job that pays well. Or success can simply mean reaching adulthood and somehow avoiding incarceration or death.

What can faculty learn from the data generated by this study? Efforts to promote student success, at least at the community college level, need to focus on relationships among students, teachers, and the subject matter. Additionally, community college students cannot be studied apart from the communities in which they live and work each day.

COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

The promise of sociology is that it helps us understand the "real world," or the larger social context in which learning and student success take place. For example, the sociological perspective helps us understand how students' power and status outside school may alter their educational experiences. It provides insight into a wide array of social forces that affect the success of students of color, including the diverse expectations and life experiences they bring to college, as well as the barriers and support they encounter at college.

Relationships within the classroom are intimately connected to students' life experiences outside the classroom. The ability of teachers to be aware of this connection, understand it, and build on it can go a long way toward creating a positive, warm climate in the classroom. Students constantly described teachers who understood and valued where they were coming from as patient, open, caring, genuine, and sincere. By the same token, teachers limit their own effectiveness when they are not open to the possible implications posed by the power structure and the microinequities students of color encounter outside the classroom.

STUDENT-TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS

"I think not understanding the complexities of our students' lives creates barriers" (BCCC faculty member). Although the number of connections between students and faculty is important, what occurs during the connection may be more important. Each day, students receive subtle and not so subtle messages that tell them they do or do not have the potential to excel, they do or do not belong, and teachers do or do not care. One student recalled how she confided in her instructor at length, sharing all that was going on in her life and the problems she was having in his course. After this intensely personal outpouring, all the instructor could say was, "You know, you really shouldn't give up."

Generating a list of so-called effective teaching strategies or programs is not nearly enough. Equally important are a faculty member's awareness of personal bias, feelings about teacher-student relationships, and views regarding the salience of classroom climate. For example, using a variety of new teaching methods will not in all likelihood fundamentally alter how a teacher views a student's potential and whether a student's academic abilities can be significantly modified. Adding a chapter, module, or exercise on diversity will not dramatically change whether a teacher values or even accommodates the diversity that is present among her or his students.

More than one student in this study commented that instructors tend to work on their subject matter, not on themselves. In one particular group, another student then added, "Some faculty may not be willing to do all that work. [BCCC] is probably where they have the most interaction with people of another culture, because [faculty] go back to their safe havens" (Group 5, Student 5).

Clearly, we as faculty need to constantly work on ourselves, seeking input from our students. At various points *throughout* the course, we should encourage students to provide anonymous feedback about the course. Questions dealing with content and pedagogy might explore what students perceive as the relevance of the subject matter, their level of comfort in asking questions and seeking help, and even their personal views regarding what constitutes success in the course.

The easiest way to teach is to ignore differences. Yet by doing that we put certain students at a disadvantage. They are asked to learn and excel in an environment that is not "real" and does not validate who they are. The sociological perspective helps us understand that teachers and students often experience the same things differently because of their cultural backgrounds. Nevertheless, faculty may make certain assumptions about students that may not be valid. For example, do instructors assume students will ask questions if they do not understand or that they will call if they miss an exam? Do instructors assume that deficiency in one area means deficiencies in others? Do instructors assume students have the same study skills *they* had in college and that "serious" students view schoolwork as their number one priority? A white faculty member at BCCC, who recently taught at a nearby predominantly white community college, says that she is increasingly aware of how her cultural knowledge may be different from her students. For example, she is now more conscious of vocabulary and phrases she might use that are culturally based, such as the phrase *rule of thumb*. Another instructor commented on how he spent considerable time during a sociology class session highlighting the difference between *manifest* and *latent* functions, only to discover at the end of class that some students did not know the meaning of *function*. In effect, faculty need to reflect constantly on how their behaviors, attitudes, and teaching styles are influenced by their own personal and professional background and life experiences. One teaching strategy used by a colleague is to break down or redefine any word that might be misunderstood and do it in a matter-of-fact, noncondescending way.

In *Relational Theory in the Workplace*, Joyce Fletcher (1996) describes empathic teaching as a way of teaching that takes the learner's intellectual and emotional reality into account. Empathic teachers facilitate learning and struggle with students rather than direct the learning process from a distance. They are emotionally present in class, aware of group dynamics and the potential for discomfort, and willing to take risks along with the students. Empathic teachers are aware of the strengths students bring to their academic work rather than merely the deficits. Finally, they make students feel comfortable about asking for help. Excellent teachers, according to many of the students in the focus groups, show these same qualities. Holistic in their approach, they are tuned into their students both intellectually and emotionally.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STUDENTS AND THE SUBJECT MATTER

Many introductory sociology students do not understand or value the bottom-line relevance of sociology. It is an issue that is rarely addressed in any detail in textbooks. For example, why do employers need students who possess a well-developed sociological imagination? How can sociology promote students' skills in the area of teamwork, conflict management, and cross-cultural communication? These connections and others need to be explored, particularly in Introduction to Sociology. Too often, the relevance of sociology is unclear to students.

Sociology, more than any other discipline, provides students with the intellectual tools they need to develop their diversity consciousness. *Diversity Consciousness: Opening Our Minds to People, Cultures, and Opportunities* (Bucher 2000) presents students' diversity consciousness, meaning their awareness, understanding, and skills in all areas of diversity, as a bottom-line competency that will provide them with a competitive edge at work.

Considering the subject matter of sociology, students may raise questions concerning diversity issues at any time. For example, students of color may take exception to how diversity is portrayed in textbooks and other sociological literature. On the second day of an Introduction to Sociology class, one African American student strongly objected to the textbook's use of the "wilding" incident to illustrate the sociological perspective. This incident, which took place in New York City's Central Park in 1989, involved the brutal rape of a 28-year-old white female jogger by a number of young males whom the author of the text described as members of an economically disadvantaged minority. The student maintained that this portrayal, and its placement in the first chapter, was just one more example of how black men are stereotyped as aggressive and criminal. After discussing the issue at some length, the instructor suggested to this student that she and other classmates who felt similarly write a letter to the author of the text and share their concerns. They did, and the author responded almost immediately. He then arranged to meet the students, even though he lived in the Midwest and had to travel by air, and even agreed to incorporate their suggestions into the text's next edition after he met with them. In retrospect, a potentially divisive situation was turned into a valuable, unifying learning experience.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER STUDENTS

Students' connections with other students may be nurtured through study sessions, tutoring programs, and "supplemental instruction." For example, student study groups have the potential to provide students with another means of learning the material in a way that is nonthreatening and culturally comfortable. Students in these groups are likely to be more open and honest about what they know and do not know and what they have to do to succeed.

At some colleges, students in developmental courses have been co-enrolled in college-level courses such as Introduction to Sociology or take these courses sequentially. For instance, a number of BCCC students who took the same College Success Seminar found themselves in my Introduction to Sociology class the following semester. In the College Success Seminar, students learn to identify and act on what "successful students" do that is different from what "struggling students" do. For example, students are taught how to ask for help and where to look for help if they need it. Now that they are in sociology, this same group of students can apply these skills in a college-level course. Additionally, they have created connections that are very rare in stand-alone classes. They constantly keep in touch with one another, look out for one another, and study together. Interestingly, these students also seem to be more comfortable holding one another accountable and giving one another a little grief if they do not do the work. Also, developing the sociological perspective provides these students with opportunities to confront and discuss cultural and racial issues inside and outside the classroom. In the process, these students can create and nourish a sense of belonging that may be virtually nonexistent elsewhere on campus.

At BCCC, supplemental instructors in the classroom and mentoring support outside the classroom buttress this support system among my Introduction to Sociology students. For example, some former students of mine act as supplemental instructors in two of my Introduction to Sociology classes. The supplemental instructors, who have a strong grasp of the subject matter and excellent interpersonal skills, are paid an hourly wage for attending each class session with the students and then meeting with them outside class for approximately three hours each week. Mentors, on the other hand, are full-time employees who keep in constant touch with designated students in these courses and with me. Institutional data reveal that the retention rate of students who have been exposed to this support system, the Positive People Learning Community, is approximately 25 percent greater than the control group (Baltimore City Community College 2001). There are now plans to expand this program to reach more students and disciplines.

At nearby Anne Arundel Community College, students who are part of a similar program of supplemental instruction with mentoring support have benefited, as well. The program provides students in required courses, including sociology, with the support they need to be successful. Student leaders, who themselves have completed the course in the past, are paired with faculty members who serve as mentors. Both student leaders and mentors undergo intensive training on pedagogical issues and study strategies. Comparison of supplemental instruction participants and nonparticipants shows significant differences in retention and course success rates (Anne Arundel Community College 2000: 1).

Conclusion

"It doesn't take much to push students out the door, especially considering the pressure they're under" (Group 3, Student 1). Three underlying themes seem to capture the diversity, challenges, and struggles for students of color, particularly those at BCCC: fragility, strength, and growth. The fragility of students is illustrated by an attrition rate at community colleges that is considerably higher than at four-year colleges and universities, a national figure that is close to 50 percent in recent years (ACT Institutional Data File 2000: 1). When students talked about their experiences at college, seemingly minor incidents often had drastic consequences. For example, one student talked about how one of her tutors slammed a pencil on the desk when she could not understand her tutor's explanation and how that incident made the student feel inferior and dumb. After that incident, she dropped out of college.

At the same time, community college students, and particularly the students of color who made up the focus groups for this study, show tremendous strength, resiliency, discipline, and growth. Story after story revealed an assortment of barriers or challenges that had to be confronted and overcome, often daily. Sometimes, just meeting one's responsibilities at home and at work and then making it to class was a mammoth task. If students do persevere, their transformation is all the more remarkable, considering the extent of their academic and social skills when they enter BCCC. These accomplishments can broaden the learning experiences of others, as well. In the words of one BCCC graduate, "I left BCCC a well-rounded student, and not only academically. My personal life changed so much, as far as being in touch with my people. Before I couldn't comprehend their struggles; when I left here I knew these struggles are real" (Group 4, Student 5).

In conclusion, any effort by sociology faculty to improve the success of students of color significantly needs to focus on a myriad of relationships and their potential impact on student success. Moreover, we need to move beyond our narrow, impersonal orientation to student learning. As sociologists, we have a tendency to think of our own discipline's uniqueness and how it contributes to student learning rather than viewing our discipline and others as an integrated whole with a common vision. Indeed, one of the most promising new initiatives, *learning communities*, treats learning and student success as beyond the scope of any one department or program. Rather, learning communities are college-wide and require a collective, integrated effort on the part of students, faculty, and administrators. Consequently, this type of community is better able to develop systemic safety nets for all students, particularly students at risk.

Obviously, faculty can and should play a pivotal role in promoting the success of students of color. To do this, however, we have to look critically at ourselves and challenge ourselves, individually and collectively. For example, do we consider ourselves part of the network of helpers that promote student success? How does what we teach and how we teach strengthen the myriad of relationships that promote the success of all students? What are we doing to develop our diversity consciousness both in and out of the classroom? Do we honestly believe in the diverse abilities of all our students, and if so, what are we doing to support and nurture the development of these abilities? How do we know which of our efforts are successful and which are not? Finally, what are we doing to reward learning-centered faculty who choose to focus their efforts on improving student retention rather than on research or other teaching duties?

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Service-Learning and Success in Sociology

Scott J. Myers-Lipton

Problem

Service-learning has become a major educational reform movement in the United States in the past 10 years (Astin and Sax 1998; Eyler and Giles 1999). The impact of this movement has been felt throughout the various disciplines and in both K-12 and higher education. Many sociologists have been at the forefront of this movement, demonstrating that service-learning develops conceptual and theoretical understanding, increases civic responsibility, and reduces racial stereotypes (Marullo 1999; Myers-Lipton 1998; Ostrow 1999).

The limitation of service-learning, both in research and in practice, is that the focus has been primarily on European American students. There are several explanations for this lack of attention to students of color. Rhoads (1997) contends that the disparity exists because European American students are the dominant group on most college campuses; thus, they have been the most involved in service-learning. Coles (1999) argues that this disparity exists because students of color have less time available because of job and family responsibilities, they may see service-learning as a "white charitable program," and they already have other avenues for community service through churches and other ethnic networks.

This lack of research on and participation of students of color raises two major problems for the service-learning field. The first problem is that because of the lack of research on students of color, we do not know the effect of service-learning on this group. One of the few studies that discuss the effect of service-learning on students of color suggests that service-learning may increase retention rates (Roose et al. 1997).

The fact is that most of what we know about students of color and service-learning comes from faculty observations rather than research. For example, Calderon believes that service-learning may not impact students of color as much as European American students, as the former are already more aware of racism and class exploitation (cited in Enos 1999). Cohen (1995) notes that in her class Community Tutoring Project, which explores racism and classism by having stu-

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dents tutor children in a predominantly poor African American neighborhood, students of color refused to blame the victim as several European American students had done. Students of color also spoke passionately about the structural inequalities that families in the community faced and gained an increased sense of identity with the oppressed communities they served.

A second problem is that an underlying assumption of the present service-learning model is to send out largely European American students to perform service-learning in communities of color and/or poorer communities. Early in the movement's history, Nadine Cruz (1990) warned service-learning practitioners that this model, with European American students as "servers" and people of color as clients, had the tendency to replicate existing power relationships. For this reason, she asked practitioners to reconsider moving forward with a service-learning agenda. Cruz and the present service-learning model have yet to consider the complex set of dynamics that exists when the primary group of service-learners is students of color.

Chesler and Scalera (2000) articulated these concerns about research and participation in a recent review of the literature on service-learning, race, and gender. In the review, Chesler and Scalera call on the service-learning field to move beyond the first level of generalized research. Specifically, they want researchers to explore what works and why, what the impact is of service-learning on students of color, and how the service-learning movement can build diversity, multiculturalism, and social justice into the curriculum. The study described here is a modest attempt to address these empirical and theoretical questions.

Critcal Theory and Service-Learning

Historically, studies of education have tended to be couched in either functionalist terms, which have emphasized the role of education in the assimilation process and the development of a merit-based system, or in Marxist terms, which have focused on how schools participate in the reproduction of the existing social class structure. In the early 1970s, other theoretical perspectives began to emerge in response, one of which was *critical education theory* (Bennett and LeCompte 1990). Critical education theory, which is the perspective that guides this paper, comes from critical social theory in the subdiscipline of the sociology of education. This perspective focuses on how dominant socioeconomic groups maintain power over the educational process as well as how subordinate groups resist this domination. Critical education theory is interested in discovering the various types of curricula and pedagogy that allow teachers to become *transformative intellectuals* and students to become active, critical, and engaged learners (Giroux 1988).

Critical education theory is best described as a perspective that has several common elements rather than a single shared theory. Influenced by macro conflict theory, interactionism, Antonio Gramsci, Paulo Freire, and the Frankfurt

School, this perspective is unified by the objective "to empower the powerless and transform existing social inequalities and injustices . . . to heal, repair, and transform the world" (McLaren 1989: 160).

Critical theory, as an overarching framework, is well suited for service-learning, because the two perspectives share three key assumptions. First, critical theory and service-learning are both interested in the development of a curriculum and pedagogy that transform school into an agent of social change. Second, critical theorists and many service-learning educators share the assumption that students should actively question the power relationships in society, and that through this questioning transformational change of the student and society is possible. Third, critical education theory and service-learning both make the assumption that humans are active agents of change. Because these two perspectives share these key assumptions, service-learning can be grounded in critical education theory.

Importantly, critical education theory identifies which group needs to participate in creating a just society. As stated above, the objective of critical theory is to empower the powerless. Thus, service-learning needs to work with groups who are marginalized. The study below examines the effect of service-learning on university students who are marginalized by race and social class and who are enrolled in sociology courses that are focused on transforming existing social injustices.

Method

The participants for this study come from two service-learning sociology courses at a large public university on the West Coast (San Jose State University). The university is located in a city with a highly diverse community; 65 percent of the student body comes from groups historically underrepresented in higher education. One of the service-learning sociology courses is a lower-division course, Social Problems, while the other is the upper-division service-learning internship required of all sociology majors.

In Social Problems, there were 17 students of color in a class of 28. Out of these 17 students, 15 participated in this study. Five of the students were African American, seven were Asian American, two were Latina/o, and one was Filipina Mexican. Thirteen of the 15 were women. Three of the students were seniors, five were juniors, and seven were sophomores. Three of these students were sociology majors, four were administrative justice majors, and two were psychology majors. The following majors had one student each: art graphics, biological science, computer engineering, occupational therapy, political science, and undeclared. In the capstone service-learning internship, there were nine students of color out of a class of 21: Two were African American, one was Asian American, and six were Latina/o. Five were males and four were females. All were senior sociology majors, except one, who was a social science major.

Service-learning was infused throughout Social Problems. In the beginning of the course, students were asked to choose a service-learning site at a nonprofit organization or school setting. At the site, students performed one to two hours of community work each week. In addition, students wrote a one- to two-page *integration paper* every week. The purpose of the paper was to integrate the week's reading with what they were observing and learning at their service-learning project. The following questions are examples of the kinds of integration questions asked:

> In light of Donileen Loseke's article, how is your service-learning social problem(s) "socially constructed"?
>
> What role does gender play at your service-learning project? For example, what sex are the staff and clients? Why is it this way? How do the boys and girls, if present, interact with each other? Have you witnessed sexism? How do gender, ethnicity, and social class intersect with each other?

In addition to the integration papers, every two and one-half weeks, the students spent an hour and one-quarter in class reflecting on how the concepts from the text and their community work relate to each other . At the end of the course, students were assigned a major research essay that asked them to analyze their community project using the course concepts.

In the service-learning internship, students performed six to eight hours of community work a week. They met once every two weeks as a class to analyze their community work in relationship to the following four questions: (1) How is the problem(s) at your site socially constructed, and how did it get this way? (2) How does social theory explain your issue? (3) How does sociological research apply to your issue? (4) What do social scientists and others see as solutions to your issue? Their major assignment was to write a 10-page research essay addressing these four issues. This course is seen as the capstone experience for sociology majors.

To understand how students of color interpret service-learning, I designed a questionnaire that included six open-ended questions. In addition to answering the questions, students were asked to report their year in school, major, sex, and ethnicity. To receive the most-honest answers possible, the questionnaire did not ask for students' names. Students in Social Problems and working in internships filled out the questionnaire on the last day of the courses.

In addition, data were collected from the last integration paper in the Social Problems course. This integration paper focused on how the students' service-learning experience affected their values and attitudes and what they thought were the drawbacks to service-learning. The self-reported responses to the questionnaire and integration paper have been analyzed and broken into five specific categories: sociological imagination, multiculturalism and identity, relevance, interest in sociology, and structural analysis in a one-on-one service role.

Analysis

The data suggest that service-learning, when conducted in sociology courses, promotes the success of students of color because it (1) develops their sociological imagination, (2) leads to a deeper understanding of multiculturalism and their own identity, (3) makes sociology relevant to their lives, (4) increases interest in the discipline, and (5) leads to a structural analysis, even when performing a one-on-one service role. With the assistance of service-learning, students of color develop a sociological imagination, a skill that is at the center of the discipline. By developing a deeper understanding of multiculturalism, students of color learn how individual and institutional racism affects the lives of their families and the larger multiethnic community. This new multicultural awareness leads to solidarity with clients, as they are often bound by the common oppression of racism. This outcome of multicultural awareness and understanding is a strong component of most sociology departments. Service-learning also makes sociology relevant to the lives of students of color. Considerable research has demonstrated that school is an alienating institution for students of color largely because the curriculum and pedagogy do not meet their needs (Soldier 1997; Tate 1994). This alienation can lead students of color to drop out of school (Bennett and LeCompte 1990). Because this study demonstrates that a main theme in service-learning courses is the ability to integrate the life of the student with ideas from the course, more students of color may be retained. Last, service-learning increases interest in the discipline, which will, it is hoped, lead to more students of color graduating with degrees in sociology.

SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION

Many sociologists have argued that service-learning helps to develop students' sociological imagination. Marullo (1999) contends that service-learning develops the sociological imagination when the individual biographies of the people with whom the students work are connected to the larger social forces that have affected them. Ostrow claims that service-learning "provides students a chance to catch hold of the intellectual and ethical importance of the sociological imagination" (1999: 9). In this study, it is evident that students of color developed a sociological imagination. When the students in Social Problems were asked whether their values and attitudes toward the issues covered in the course (i.e., issues of poverty and class exploitation, racism and ethnic relations, and sexism and gender relations) were affected, 13 answered yes and one was not sure.

Significantly, a similar narrative ran through most of the 13 responses: Before the course, students were either unaware of these social issues or they had some knowledge of them but did not realize they were so pervasive. For example, a Filipina student declared that she has become more aware of the hidden problems in her community. Similarly, a Vietnamese female student said, "If it weren't for this service-learning project, I wouldn't know what kind of problems are out there in our society." Although both of these students have become more cognizant that social problems exist, the following two students move beyond simple awareness to where they are able to translate individual troubles into public issues, a core component of the sociological imagination (Mills 1959). A Chinese American male student put it this way:

> I had never thought much of such issues until the time I began the course. Now I have seen the problems, as well as read about these problems, that are part of our society. I always knew what the meaning of poverty and racism meant, but I never knew that it affected so many individuals today. America, being the richest nation in the world, you would think that we would not have that many problems, yet we have issues of poverty and racism embedded in our society's structures.

Similarly, an African American student described how social forces construct ideology:

> For the most part, the major influence that the reading and service-learning [have] had on my attitude toward many social issues is best explained by Strand [1999] in her critical look into service-learning: "Human behavior is shaped by social forces — forces that are themselves not immutable but rather products of human action and interaction." Meaning that individuals are self-molded into a belief that is responsive toward historical, social, stereotypical ideologies and customs about how we live and confide with other individuals. . . . Through my experiences in service-learning, I know now that when one speaks of racism, poverty, and class exploitation and sexism, these are all social forces that have shaped a historically imbedded superior mind-set upon certain individuals and in doing so created a behavior of stratification or separatism amongst human beings.

She then went on to analyze her service-learning project, which was at a child development center, using this newfound understanding of social forces.

By discussing how social forces impinge on the life choices of individuals, how poverty and racism are embedded in social structure, and how social forces shape ideology, the students clearly demonstrate that they have caught hold of the sociological imagination. Importantly, several students described the movement from ignorance to an understanding of public problems as "life changing."

Yet the question remains: Is this different from the service-learning experience of European American students? Because this study focuses on students of color, a rigorous comparison with European American students is not possible. At the same time, I would like to note that my experience has been similar to Cohen's. Over the past 12 years as a service-learning scholar and practitioner, I have had many European American students, particularly nonmajors, who strongly resist the idea that ethnicity and social class restrict the lives of people of color and poor people while at the same time privileging themselves. Moreover, several times I have had upper-middle-class European American students ask that we move off the topic of racism and poverty because it is "too depressing." Although I have had some students of color who initially have not understood the full impact of poverty or racism, I have never had a student of color complain about the topic matter. And as with Cohen's students, the students of color in this study refused to blame the victim and spoke passionately about the structural inequalities in society. Most likely, it is the social position that students of color find themselves in that seems to make them more readily open to sociological imagination.

In addition, students of color have a fundamentally different experience from European American students when their service-learning projects are in a multiethnic community, because the students of color are "serving" people who are of the same ethnicity or who share a common history of being subject to discrimination. I would argue that this connection to historically underrepresented communities makes a difference in how students of color understand themselves, the community, and the purpose of doing service-learning.

MULTICULTURALISM AND IDENTITY

As discussed earlier, an underlying assumption of the dominant service-learning model is that white students go out to perform community work in communities of color and/or poor communities. Very little attention has been paid to students of color who do their service-learning projects in multiethnic settings or in their own communities. Thus, I designed the following questions to explore this issue: (1) Did your service-learning experience provide you with an opportunity to interact with a multiethnic group of people? (2) If so, how did this affect your attitudes and perspective? (3) If you worked with people from your own ethnic group, how did your service-learning experience affect your attitudes and perspective?

When the students of color in Social Problems answered the first question, 13 of the 15 said they had worked in a multiethnic community. Out of the 13 students, 10 felt that serving in a multiethnic community changed their attitudes and perspective. The students who did not work in a multiethnic community included a Filipina student who worked with all European Americans and an African American male who worked with all African American high school students. What became clear from the responses was that the students of color live and operate in a multicultural world. They are already accustomed to living with racial diversity; it is not a new concept for them. At the same time, the service-learning experience gave students the opportunity to learn more about various ethnic groups and to develop empathy for them. A Filipina student gave voice to this perspective when she stated, "While I've always been connected to different ethnic groups, I believe the service-learning project has aided in my understanding of perspectives between ethnic groups. A kind of 'so that's where you're coming from' awareness was critical in my expanding my own perspectives on race."

Significantly, several students discussed how they felt connected to the clients at the service-learning site. An African American female stated, "I worked with many minorities. Being that I am a minority (or shall I say the majority!! ha ha), I could relate to the clients. The same attitudes and perspective that they have are some that I can relate to." This connection that students of color feel toward clients will be addressed further in the discussion of internship students.

Two students from Social Problems actually returned to their old high schools to perform their service-learning projects. An Asian American student predicted she would not have any great insights at her service-learning site because she knew the school so well. She not only was a student at the high school for four years but also had worked part time at the school for three years. She commented, however, that she was in for a big surprise:

> From the first readings on poverty and class exploitation, I realized that MPHS was one of those poor schools that Jonathon Kozol mentions that was not receiving equal educational opportunities despite California's attempt for equal distribution of funds. From reading Jean Anyon's article on the different pedagogy techniques at different schools, I was shocked to find those same techniques being applied to the students I was tutoring. At times I found myself doing the same things as I tutored them. . . . I am coming to the startling realization that the students of MPHS were not being given the same educational tools that students at the upper-class schools were being given. Finally, from the sexism and gender relations articles, I saw that everyone, including myself, and especially the young men and men at MPHS, fit perfectly into the social constructed notions we have about what it means to be a girl and what it means to be a guy.

As a result of this service-learning experience, this student developed a sociological analysis of how gender, social class, and ethnicity play out in an institution, the classroom, and in personal interactions. With her taken-for-granted reality made problematic, she developed a much deeper understanding of her multiethnic community.

In the same way, an African American student returned to his high school to do his service-learning project. He felt that before he began his project, "he perceived individual social issues as individual social problems." After the experience, however, he saw that "the issues of race coincide with the issues of class exploitation." The following experience helped him to understand the dimensions of racism and segregation in the United States more fully:

> I am amazed by the manner in which the school is segregated. In the school parking lot, which is filled mostly with Bimmers, Porsches, and Audis, young upwardly mobile students of European American descent hang out fashionably dressed in Banana Republic and Gap clothes. They smoke cigarettes while they hang

> out and discuss "who's gonna throw the big party on Saturday." As I walked past the parking lot toward the first corridor, I heard a mixture of Spanish and English street slang. When I turned left into the corridor, there was a group of seven Mexican American students sitting on some of the lunch tables, hanging out and conversing among one another. As I continued to trek another 50 yards, I heard two voices volleying back and forth, each voice finishing the sentence of the other. As I got closer, I saw a group of 10 African American students walking through the hallway. Two of the students were rapping, and the rest were either nodding their heads to the rhythm of the rap or slap boxing with one another. As I continued to stroll across the campus toward my classroom, I had an epiphany. In retrospect, I had remembered the campus to be segregated in the exact same manner when I attended the school a number of years ago. I had realized that discrimination is still just as prevalent as it was several years ago. . . .
>
> When I entered the classroom, I heard a voice say, "I don't like white people because they try to be better than me, and they be stinkin' when they get wet in the rain." Which was followed by, "Yeah, well that's not as bad as the Mexican people who live across the street from me; they smell like tortillas all the time and they play that stupid music that sounds the same all the time. I hate them!" After hearing what I heard, I was in shock for at least 10 minutes. I found it hard to believe that students in what I perceived to be a newly diverse society could hold such primitive views of other ethnic groups.

This student concluded by stating that he believed racism had not diminished since he left high school and that only with a complete restructuring of society would racism ever be reduced.

In these two cases, as well as many of the ones described above, students of color served in multiethnic communities about which they already had some knowledge. Again, while a rigorous comparison with European American students is not possible in this study, it is possible to suggest a tentative hypothesis about how these two groups experience the multiethnic communities they serve in. We know that European American students generally live in homogenous communities (Marullo 1999) and that students of color live in multiethnic communities. As a result, I argue that European American students who serve in a multiethnic community discover the "other," while students of color who serve in a multiethnic community many times find themselves. This difference in experience was highlighted when a Mexican American student, who served at a public defender's office, commented on how she saw herself in her clients. "I wanted to help the people of my own ethnic group as much as possible. I somehow saw a little bit of myself in them." This insight into their own identity and the development of a deeper connection to their own communities are two important differences between students of color and European American students who serve in multiethnic communities.

The internship students raised similar themes. In this course, seven of the nine students worked in a multiethnic setting. An African American student's response demonstrates his growing interethnic understanding: "I worked with black students, white students, Latinos, Asians, and Middle Eastern students. I learned more not only about my own culture but also about cultures outside America." The one difference between the students of color in Social Problems and the interns was that the latter group were a bit more sophisticated in their approach to diversity, which was not surprising, given that they were seniors and had completed four times the number of service-learning hours. For example, a Latino intern mentioned that he tried to encourage people from various ethnic groups to interact with one another because they tended to stay segregated. A Chicano student discussed that his service-learning site gave him the chance to develop strong relationships with people with whom he would otherwise not associate, allowing him to build relationships outside his community.

This increased understanding of the multicultural world and themselves promotes success in students of color because they will be more capable of understanding and explaining how race and ethnicity play out in their sociology courses as well as in the social world. This increased understanding will also promote success in the lives of students because they will have had the experience of not just living with people from different ethnic groups but also working toward a common goal.

RELEVANCE

When students of color in Social Problems were asked whether having a service-learning experience made this course different from other sociology (or social science) courses, 14 students answered yes and one was not sure. The main theme that made this service-learning course different was that it connected the ideas of the class to the life of the student. For example, an African American woman declared, "We got a chance to actually go out into the community rather than hear lectures all of the time. In the other sociology class that I took, we never related the information to actual day-to-day life. The service-learning experience actually brought the curriculum to life!!" A young Latino added that service-learning was a unique experience because "not only are we discussing social issues, we have the opportunity to experience them weekly. It adds great depth to the class." Finally, a Filipina-Mexican student stated that academics and her life as a female student of color were never connected before this service-learning course. "Even when, in prior classes, I sensed those connections, there was no structure to incorporate that into the semester's coursework. This class was very effective in making the book work relevant to real life for me." The above voices demonstrate that by allowing students of color the opportunity to integrate academics and community work, the consequence is a more relevant curriculum.

The data also suggest that service-learning makes the course more understandable and therefore more meaningful to them. A Filipina commented, "I have never taken a sociology course before but in comparison with other college courses, this class was definitely a good experience. Integrating what we learn in class and actually taking that and going into the community helps to better understand the course assignments." An African American student spoke for many when she stated, "I was able to better understand the concepts being taught in class when actually put into a service-learning environment. . . . For example, information expressed in Kerry Strand's article really became clear once I had experienced working in a shelter."

When students of color in the internship course were asked whether having a service-learning experience had made this course different from other sociology courses, nine students answered yes and one was not sure. A Hispanic student spoke for many when she asserted, "This was the only course I had of this sort. It was a very different experience. It was different because it made what I was studying real. I had read and heard about these problems, but now I was actually able to see them." A Mexican American student asserted, "It gave a hands-on learning experience. We got to view our work/internship in a sociological perspective. For example, by writing our research papers, we got the opportunity to apply sociological theories to things we came across at our site."

In summary, service-learning makes sociology relevant to the lives of students of color because it connects real life to the academic coursework. This increase in relevance is important because it was shown earlier that the curriculum and pedagogy do not meet the needs of students of color, leading some to leave school. Thus, although service-learning increases relevancy for European American students (Reeb et al. 1998) and students of color, this similar experience may have a different end result because it may lead to greater retention rates for students of color. In addition, service-learning makes sociology more understandable and therefore more meaningful to students of color. This increase in understanding should promote success among students of color because they will be more motivated to learn about sociological ideas when they have a deeper understanding of them and can apply them to their lives and community.

INTEREST IN SOCIOLOGY

When the 15 students of color in Social Problems were asked whether service-learning increased their interest in sociology, 11 students answered yes, two said they were unsure, and two said no. The 11 students who answered affirmatively to this question used words like *definitely* and *very much* in their responses. Two students asserted that the service-learning experience was the deciding factor in their decision to change their major to sociology. A Mexican-Filipina student who was studying political science decided to change her major because that department did not connect the course material to the problems she saw in her community. She stated, "Through my service-learning project, I have discovered most of the impact I want to make is located in sociology. I am now pursuing it as my major." An undeclared African American student responded, "Yes, I would like to declare sociology as my major. I feel like my eyes have been opened to a lot of new things. They are not new because the issues have always been there; I just never related them to me." This concept of relevance is a major factor in the students' decision to change majors to sociology. This ability of service-learning to connect sociological ideas to the lives of students and their communities seems to be one of the primary reasons that service-learning courses increase the interest of students of color in sociology. This increase in interest, it is hoped, will translate into more students of color declaring sociology a major and graduating with degrees in sociology.

As noted above, two students responded that service-learning did not increase their interest in sociology. A Vietnamese-French student stated, "No, I am more interested in technology than sociology." She did mention, however, that "the service-learning experience helped me gain more interaction with my interest of caring for low-income families and helping our future's children." A Chinese American male student answered, "Not really, I am taking this as general education, but it has definitely been an enlightening course." Importantly, the two students who answered no to this question both qualified their responses.

Last, one student in Social Problems felt that the service-learning experience had made her uncertain of her decision to major in sociology.

> I have always had an interest in sociology. The class has actually made me second-guess myself on whether or not I want to major in it. The many problems in society encourage me to do better, but it also saddens me. Learning about all the inequality angers me and affects me [so] that I'm questioning whether this is something I really want to get into. I think maybe it's because of my negative life experiences, and no matter what I do to make things better, there still seems to be no type of change.

Service-learning practitioners must be prepared to deal with this type of frustration, particularly with students of color who have encountered some of the negative life experiences that they are observing at their service-learning site. Some guidelines are available for service-learning instructors to deal with this frustration:

- Make sure that when people of color express their opinions in class, they are not interrupted or their viewpoints given short shrift. An active listening exercise might be necessary to help students improve their listening skills.
- Let students of color know that you are empathetic to their negative life experiences and make yourself available to them to discuss their feelings

during office hours; this modeling of empathy is helpful for both students of color and European American students.

- In your curriculum, provide examples of people of color who have initiated social change strategies to improve the conditions of their lives.
- Encourage all students to develop solidarity with the people they are working with rather than engaging a model of "helping the less fortunate." This will communicate to all students that service-learning is not about do-gooder acts that alleviate guilt nor does it require them to examine their privilege or lack of it.

It did not make sense to ask seniors, who were taking their last course in sociology, whether service-learning increased their interest in the discipline; instead, I asked the students to assess whether this experience was a good way to end their sociology coursework. Eight of the students answered yes, one said maybe, and one was unsure. A Latino student stated, "In my last semester in school, this was the perfect way to end my undergraduate experience! I tied together several sociological concepts." A Mexican American student stated that "it was a good way to end my sociology coursework, because you were able to identify the variables and have more of an understanding of how or why environments affect the workplace." One African American student answered "yes and no," stating, "On the yes part, I feel that if you are out there in the community before you start your career, it helps you apply all of the knowledge that you learned in school. No, because I feel the internship should come earlier in your schooling." According to the student interns, service-learning was a very positive way to end the undergraduate sociology experience.

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS IN A ONE-ON-ONE SERVICE ROLE

Some sociologists have raised concerns that placing students in a one-on-one service role reinforces psychological explanations for social problems and implicitly supports the commonly held view that social problems can be alleviated through individual effort rather than collective action. Strand (1999) argues that students may develop psychological explanations for public problems, as students in one-on-one service roles do not get the opportunity to explore the root causes.

When students were asked whether they agreed with the above critique of service-learning, eight students disagreed with Strand, two agreed, and four gave responses that did not show clear intent. One of the students who disagreed with Strand's analysis was a Latino who did his service-learning project tutoring students at an elementary school. He discussed how his service-learning project provided him the opportunity to become an investigator and observer. He saw himself as an active participant at the site, using service-learning as a way to understand social reality. He stated, "When I tutor these children, I ask them if they have anyone to read to them at home, and they respond with a no. Then I ask if they have parents who work and they say both parents do, basically the entire day, leaving the child with no one to read to them and engage in academic activity." He believed that poverty had a large impact on literacy rates among school children. He then went on to critique Strand, arguing that "what she failed to acknowledge is the fact that most students investigate their service-learning project as they experience it." He concluded, "I believe systematic analysis does not help an individual observe firsthand the problems our country is facing. I agree that analysis can give the explanations of the why and how of the effects, but it doesn't give someone the motivation, that extra push for him or her to actually do something and assert action." Here the student differentiates between systemic analysis and action and comes to the conclusion that both are important.

A few students expressed concern that service-learning might change a few lives but not transform society. An African American female represented this view when she asserted, "As sociologists, we want to make *social* changes." She worried that working as volunteers in social service agencies might just be "buying into the problems." An Asian American student reminded me that if service-learning wants to avoid the pitfall Strand identifies, students need to reflect critically on "the events of that day and how it relates to society." On the other hand, several students were angry with Strand for not trusting their ability to overcome "individualistic thinking."

In conclusion, most students argued that even though they were performing direct service, they felt that they had the opportunity to explore the root causes of social problems. Perhaps this occurred because the students had plenty of opportunity to connect the curriculum, which focused on social structure, with the service projects. Another explanation is that Strand was referring to European American students and this study focused on students of color, who have shown that they are quite open to the sociological imagination when taking a service-learning course, perhaps because of their social position in a racially stratified society. Thus, students of color should have success in the field of sociology when involved in service-learning projects that include direct service.

Discussion

The data suggest that service-learning, when conducted in sociology courses, promotes the success of students of color, because it (1) develops their sociological imagination, (2) leads to a deeper understanding of multiculturalism and their own identity, (3) makes sociology relevant to their lives, (4) increases interest in the discipline, and (5) leads to a structural analysis in a one-on-one service role. The analyses of the self-reports have implications for service-learning theory, research, and practice.

First, the service-learning model, which is based on predominantly European American students' going out to serve communities of color, needs to be modified to include students of color. If service-learning is conceptualized as a universal experience affecting all participants in the same way, it will not accurately describe social reality, nor will it promote the success of students of color in sociology. As demonstrated in this chapter, students of color experience service-learning in ways that are different from and similar to (but with different results) European American students. Thus, the service-learning model and the practitioners who use it must take this into consideration. In the classroom, this means that students of color will have different insights and responses to service-learning. For example, students of color may discuss how they relate to clients because the students see part of themselves in the people with whom they are working. This insight about "sameness" may also lead students of color to explore their own ethnic identity as well as develop a strong commitment to racial and social justice. It may also help them achieve solidarity with people who are different in sexual orientation or social class but who are ethnically similar, though further research is needed to explore this possibility. Furthermore, students of color may discuss how the course material is relevant to their lives but at the same time is disempowering, as it connects to their negative life experiences. Thus, faculty need to be prepared to respond to this disempowerment in the manner mentioned above.

In addition, this new service-learning model has more integrity because it explicitly focuses on empowering the powerless. Although critical theory has previously helped to explain the internal dynamics of service-learning, those who have used critical theory (myself included) may have been a bit disingenuous because we have used it to describe privileged students working with oppressed communities. With students of color included in the service-learning model, theory and praxis are more aligned. This new congruence will promote the success of students of color in sociology because the service-learning field will include and recognize their perspectives and viewpoints.

Second, this research casts doubt on those who claim that service-learning may not affect students of color as much as European American students. Until now, researchers have demonstrated that service-learning is a powerful tool to increase racial understanding because it allows European American students to work in a diverse community, many for the first time (Rhoads 1997). For students of color, service-learning connects the ideas discussed in the classroom, their personal lives, and the communities from which the students come. While this is a different experience from the one that European American students have, it is a mistake to define it as somehow less powerful. Further research will allow for greater understanding of how service-learning affects students of color. As research efforts move forward, I recommend that particular attention be paid to how students from various ethnic groups perceive and explain their own identity, their understanding of "otherness" and "sameness," and their relationship to the community. As researchers uncover more about these issues, the service-learning practitioner will be more likely to have success in the classroom.

Third, service-learning is a vehicle to enhance the educational experiences of students of color in the discipline of sociology. Based on the findings of this research, sociology departments can use service-learning as a strategy to attract and retain students of color, as it increases interest in the discipline. Once these students of color enter our departments, we need to provide further service-learning opportunities because we do not want to entice students into the discipline with a pedagogy and curriculum that is engaging and then never give them the opportunity to participate in it again. This would lead to disillusion and retention problems. Sociology departments should begin by offering at least one service-learning course at the introductory level and one at the upper-division level each semester, while the administration needs to make resources available so that faculty can adapt their curriculum and pedagogy to include service-learning.

In conclusion, service-learning will promote the greatest success in students of color in sociology when the service-learning model is inclusive, when further research is conducted on students of color to explore the differences from and similarities to the European American experience, and when sociology departments include service-learning courses each semester at the lower- and upper-division levels.

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Part Four

Sample Syllabi

Sociology 80: Social Problems

Spring 2001

Professor Scott Myers-Lipton Class Schedule: T. & Th: 4:30-5:45 PM Office Hours: T. & Th., 2:30-4:30 PM

Course Description
This course will examine from a sociological perspective the various social problems that confront the United States and the world. We will examine such issues as poverty, homelessness, sweatshops, living wage, globalization, the WTO, racism, lack of educational opportunity, sexism, domestic violence, militarism, war/peace issues, the School of the Americas, and nuclear weapons. Through interactive methods in the classroom (i.e., group activities, small and large group discussion), video, guest lectures, service-learning projects in the community, and the reading of highly engaging texts, we will explore the root causes of these social problems. We will also search for potential solutions.

Texts
The reading for this course includes one book and a reader. The book, which is entitled "Reading Between The Lines: Toward an Understanding of Current Social Problems," is edited by Amanda Konradi and Martha Schmidt, and is available at the SJSU Bookstore.

Course Requirements

(1) Service-Learning Integration Essays (50%)
As mentioned above, this course will explore social problems in the community through a service-learning experience. Service-learning is where civic action is integrated with book knowledge, so that practice informs ideas and ideas inform practice. All students are required to complete 1 to 2 hours of service in the community each week. In addition, five of the classes are designated service-learning labs and will be dedicated to integrating your community work with the concepts from the course.

You can choose any issue and organization to work with that you like. I highly recommend that you chose a project that is related to one of the above course themes. You need to find a project to work on by the end of the second week of class, and you should start your project no later than the third week of class. To help choose which project to work on, you can look at the "service-learning book" in the sociology office, which has lots of different organizations dealing with the above issues. Also, I have several other sources for community projects in my office.

As part of this service-learning experience, you are required to write an "integration paper" each week. The integration papers are single-spaced, typed, and one to two pages in length. In this paper, you will integrate what you are learning from the class discussion and the readings with what you are seeing, observing, and learning from your community action project. In EVERY integration paper you must INTEGRATE the readings from the text with what you are seeing in your community project. If you are having trouble doing this, please come talk to me ASAP or email me. You will complete five integration papers during the semester. Each one of the integration papers will be worth 10% of the overall grade.

(2) Service-Learning Research Paper (25%)
The assignment for the service-learning research paper will be the following: Choose an issue that your service-learning organization is working on and analyze it from a "race," social class, and gender perspective. Then propose some solutions to this issue. This may or may not include ideas your organization is presently working on. Finally, explain whether (and how) larger social structures would have to be changed to solve your issue. The essay will be 10 pages minimum (typed, double-spaced). An outline of the paper will be due on April 19, with the paper due on May 10. I will pass out more information about the requirements for this research paper by the end of February.

(3) Participation (25%)
The purpose of evaluating your participation is to encourage and reward students who prepare for, and engage in, the habits of the mind. Thus, you will be evaluated on the extent and quality of your participation in class. At the end of the course, you will be asked to evaluate your level of participation. This evaluation will be taken seriously when participation grades are determined. Your classroom participation grade will be based on the following criteria:

- ○ *Excellence* (A) requires that you play a leadership role in discussion, demonstrate that you carefully read and thoughtfully consider the text; discuss points articulately; listen sensitively and respond intelligently to other's views; do not interrupt, obstruct or dominate discussion; ask insightful, carefully-constructed questions; and take

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responsibility for the overall quality of the discussion.

- *Above average* (B) requires that you participate actively in discussion, demonstrate good knowledge of the text, work to achieve understanding, listen to other viewpoints, and ask sound questions.
- *Average* (C) requires that you follow the discussion, make occasional comments, have a basic knowledge of the text, and sometimes ask questions.
- *Below average* (D) requires that you occupy a seat and occasionally show signs of life.
- *Failure* (F) requires that you occupy a seat but show no signs of life.

Grades

Since the various parts of the course add up to 100%, each percent equals a point. For example, your participation is 25% of your grade; thus, this assignment is worth 25 points. The scale that I use to measure your work is the following:

98-100=A+	88-89=B+	78-79=C+	68-69=D+	59 & below =F
93-97=A	83-87=B	73-77=C	63-67=D	
90-92=A-	80-82=B-	70-72=C-		

Method of Obtaining Knowledge

Three principles guide my pedagogical approach. *First, I believe that knowledge is obtained in an open environment where the guiding principle is "controversy with civility."* As part of this course, we will be discussing issues that are very controversial. You will be presented with a variety of thoughts about these topics and it is up to you to decide where you stand on the various issues. I want you to know that there is no ideology that you must follow. However, what I do require is that you support your idea with text and experience (e.g., service-learning).

However, I am not a neutral observer; I do have a values-based approach to education. I value a compassionate and caring society, one that is anti-racist and justice-loving. You might wonder then what happens when a student raises a point that differs from "my values." For example, what if a student claims that a certain ethnic group is intellectually inferior to another group. My role as a teacher is to have students intellectually critique this position. However, if students cannot, or are unwilling, to do so, I will assume this responsibility. Yet, I will also defend the person's right to make such a claim (and provide support for it), because in a college, all ideas should be held up to examination. Therefore, we should examine whatever is brought up, analyze it, and determine for ourselves what parts are valid and what parts are not valid. Remember, this examination needs to be done in a context of controversy within civility– I will not allow people to be disrespectful of other people's ideas. It should also be said that you will *never* be graded for what opinion you have, only how well you support it.

Second, I believe that the best educational strategy is student-centered. Thus, while there will be times that I provide short lectures, I do not see myself as the source of knowledge. Rather, I see myself as a facilitator who guides you through the learning process. Practically, this means that small and large discussion will play a major role in the course. This learning style makes it imperative that you do the readings before class and come in prepared to discuss what you have read.

Third, I believe that knowledge is obtained in the interactive process of action and reflection. This is why you will be involved in a service-learning project. Since the goal is for you to become active participants in the discovery of knowledge, you will be integrating ideas that have been generated from the readings and class discussions with ideas that have originated from your community work.

Other Important Information

1. Office Hours:

My office hours are on Tuesday and Thursday from 2:30-4:30 PM. Office hours are generally used to help clarify information from lectures, discussions, group activities, readings, or papers. However, *at least once this semester*, I would like you to stop by during my office hours to say hello in order to get to know you better on a personal basis.

2. Late Papers:

The late policy for any work is a 1/3 drop in grade for each class period late (i.e., a grade of B would be a B- if turned in one class after it is due, a C+ if it is turned in two classes after it is due, etc.). If a family emergency delays the turning in of an assignment, please contact me as soon as possible and we will work something out. Late assignments may not be returned as promptly because they will be competing with papers in this class and in other classes, which are turned in on time.

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Sociology Service-Learning Internship

Sociology 181 (Undergraduate) / 281 (Graduate)

Coordinator: Dr. Scott Myers-Lipton Office Hours: Tu. & Th.: 2:30-4:30 PM

SPRING 2001: SEMINAR MEETING DATES AND TOPICS

(1) Tuesday, January 30, 2001, 7:00-8:30 PM
Topic: Bingo and Syllabus
Handout Reading: Stanton, Marullo, Loseke, Rhoades, example of student paper

(2) Tuesday, February 13, 2001, 7:00-8:30 PM
Topic: How does an internship differ from a "normal class"?
Reading: Tim Stanton, "Working-Learning Tips"
Due: Organizational Setting and Your Job (p. 70, Stanton)

(3) Tuesday, February 27, 2001, 7:00-8:30 PM
Topic: What is a service-learning internship?
Reading: Sam Marullo, "Sociology's Essential Role"
Due: Sociology reflection paper (choose 1 from list) and interview (p. 73, Stanton)

(4) Tuesday, March 13, 2001, 7:00-8:30 PM
Topic: How is your problem socially constructed? Provide an overview of history
Reading: Donileen Loseke
Due:, Soci. reflection paper (choose 1) org. env. questions (p. 71, Stanton),
1-2 page analysis of how your issue is socially constructed/overview

(5) Tuesday, April 3, 2001, 7:00-8:30 PM
Topic: How does social theory explain your issue? (Meet with prof.)
Reading: SML's dissertation — theory section, Rhoads article
Due: Soci. mid-semester progress report (p. 53, Stanton), and 1-2 page social theory analysis

(6) Tuesday, April 17, 2001, 7:00-8:30 PM
Topic: How does sociological research apply to your issue?
Reading: none
Due: Sociology reflection paper, 1-2 page review of sociology research

(7) Tuesday, May 1, 2001, 7:00-8:30 PM
Topic: What do social scientists & others see as solutions to your issue?
Reading: 4 types of service
Due: Soci. reflection paper and 1-2 pages of solutions

(8) Thursday, May 15, 2001, by 4 PM in the Sociology Office
Due: 10-page paper

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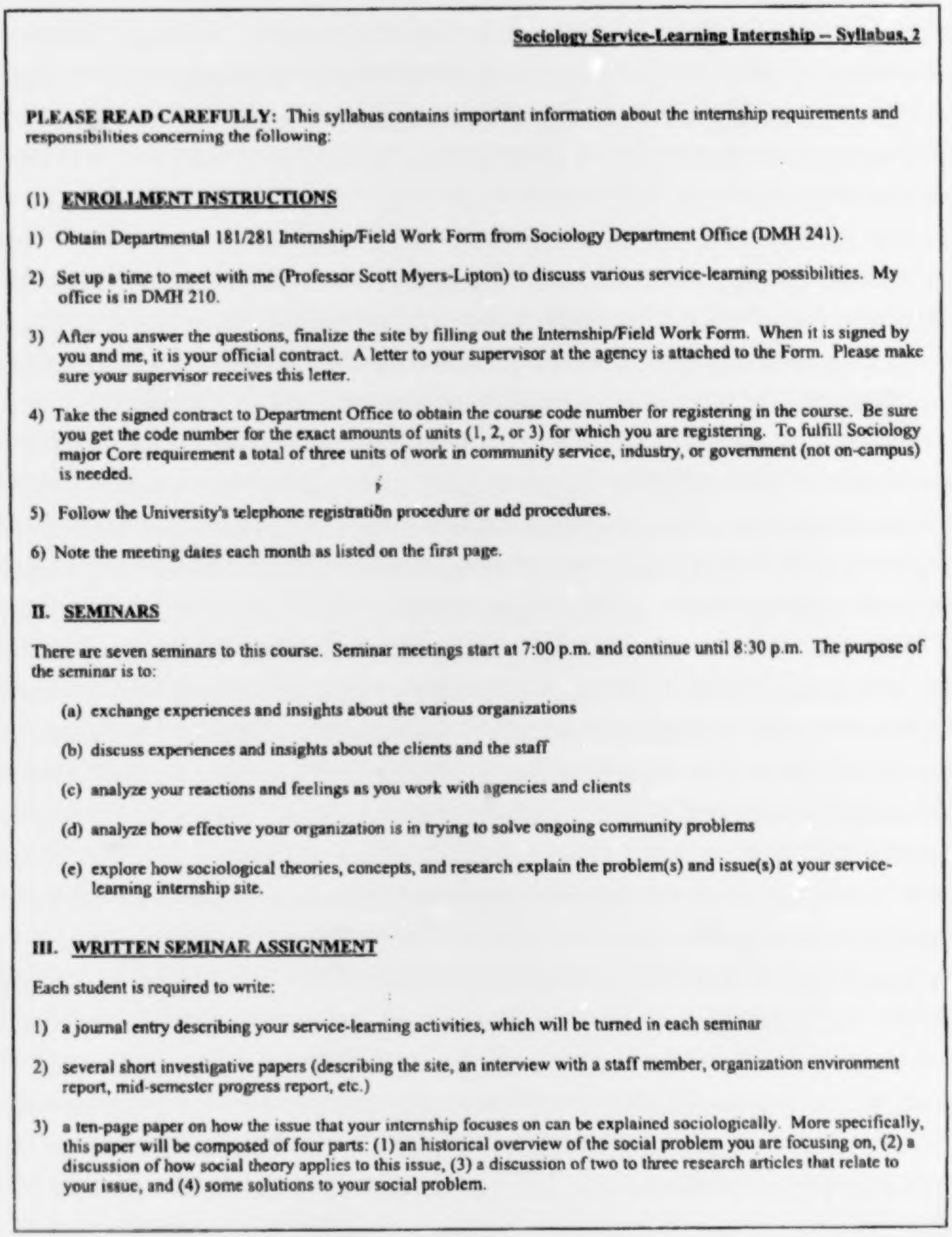

Sociology Service-Learning Internship – Syllabus, 2

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY: This syllabus contains important information about the internship requirements and responsibilities concerning the following:

(I) ENROLLMENT INSTRUCTIONS

1) Obtain Departmental 181/281 Internship/Field Work Form from Sociology Department Office (DMH 241).
2) Set up a time to meet with me (Professor Scott Myers-Lipton) to discuss various service-learning possibilities. My office is in DMH 210.
3) After you answer the questions, finalize the site by filling out the Internship/Field Work Form. When it is signed by you and me, it is your official contract. A letter to your supervisor at the agency is attached to the Form. Please make sure your supervisor receives this letter.
4) Take the signed contract to Department Office to obtain the course code number for registering in the course. Be sure you get the code number for the exact amounts of units (1, 2, or 3) for which you are registering. To fulfill Sociology major Core requirement a total of three units of work in community service, industry, or government (not on-campus) is needed.
5) Follow the University's telephone registration procedure or add procedures.
6) Note the meeting dates each month as listed on the first page.

II. SEMINARS

There are seven seminars to this course. Seminar meetings start at 7:00 p.m. and continue until 8:30 p.m. The purpose of the seminar is to:

(a) exchange experiences and insights about the various organizations

(b) discuss experiences and insights about the clients and the staff

(c) analyze your reactions and feelings as you work with agencies and clients

(d) analyze how effective your organization is in trying to solve ongoing community problems

(e) explore how sociological theories, concepts, and research explain the problem(s) and issue(s) at your service-learning internship site.

III. WRITTEN SEMINAR ASSIGNMENT

Each student is required to write:

1) a journal entry describing your service-learning activities, which will be turned in each seminar
2) several short investigative papers (describing the site, an interview with a staff member, organization environment report, mid-semester progress report, etc.)
3) a ten-page paper on how the issue that your internship focuses on can be explained sociologically. More specifically, this paper will be composed of four parts: (1) an historical overview of the social problem you are focusing on, (2) a discussion of how social theory applies to this issue, (3) a discussion of two to three research articles that relate to your issue, and (4) some solutions to your social problem.

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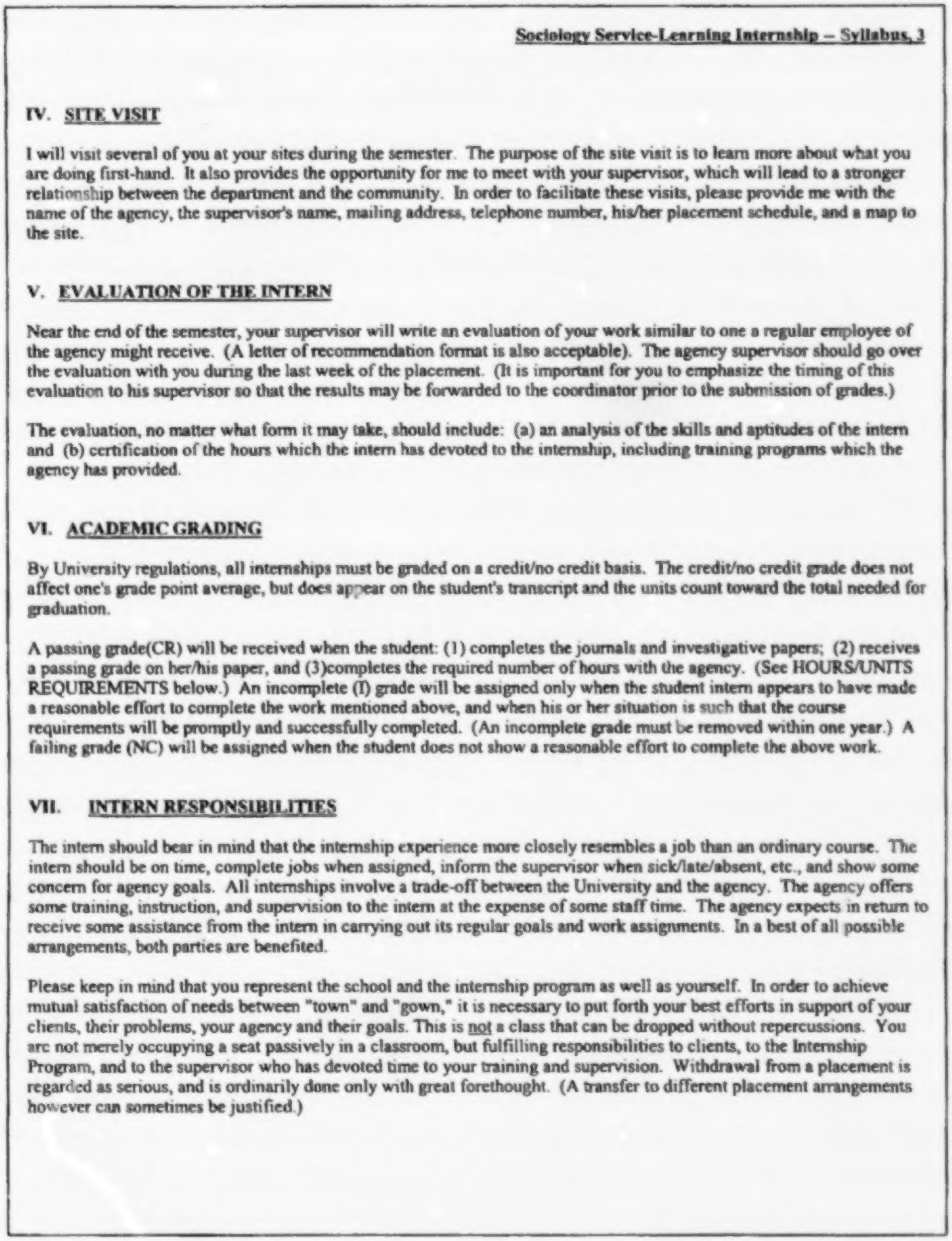

Sociology Service-Learning Internship – Syllabus, 3

IV. SITE VISIT

I will visit several of you at your sites during the semester. The purpose of the site visit is to learn more about what you are doing first-hand. It also provides the opportunity for me to meet with your supervisor, which will lead to a stronger relationship between the department and the community. In order to facilitate these visits, please provide me with the name of the agency, the supervisor's name, mailing address, telephone number, his/her placement schedule, and a map to the site.

V. EVALUATION OF THE INTERN

Near the end of the semester, your supervisor will write an evaluation of your work similar to one a regular employee of the agency might receive. (A letter of recommendation format is also acceptable). The agency supervisor should go over the evaluation with you during the last week of the placement. (It is important for you to emphasize the timing of this evaluation to his supervisor so that the results may be forwarded to the coordinator prior to the submission of grades.)

The evaluation, no matter what form it may take, should include: (a) an analysis of the skills and aptitudes of the intern and (b) certification of the hours which the intern has devoted to the internship, including training programs which the agency has provided.

VI. ACADEMIC GRADING

By University regulations, all internships must be graded on a credit/no credit basis. The credit/no credit grade does not affect one's grade point average, but does appear on the student's transcript and the units count toward the total needed for graduation.

A passing grade(CR) will be received when the student: (1) completes the journals and investigative papers; (2) receives a passing grade on her/his paper, and (3)completes the required number of hours with the agency. (See HOURS/UNITS REQUIREMENTS below.) An incomplete (I) grade will be assigned only when the student intern appears to have made a reasonable effort to complete the work mentioned above, and when his or her situation is such that the course requirements will be promptly and successfully completed. (An incomplete grade must be removed within one year.) A failing grade (NC) will be assigned when the student does not show a reasonable effort to complete the above work.

VII. INTERN RESPONSIBILITIES

The intern should bear in mind that the internship experience more closely resembles a job than an ordinary course. The intern should be on time, complete jobs when assigned, inform the supervisor when sick/late/absent, etc., and show some concern for agency goals. All internships involve a trade-off between the University and the agency. The agency offers some training, instruction, and supervision to the intern at the expense of some staff time. The agency expects in return to receive some assistance from the intern in carrying out its regular goals and work assignments. In a best of all possible arrangements, both parties are benefited.

Please keep in mind that you represent the school and the internship program as well as yourself. In order to achieve mutual satisfaction of needs between "town" and "gown," it is necessary to put forth your best efforts in support of your clients, their problems, your agency and their goals. This is not a class that can be dropped without repercussions. You are not merely occupying a seat passively in a classroom, but fulfilling responsibilities to clients, to the Internship Program, and to the supervisor who has devoted time to your training and supervision. Withdrawal from a placement is regarded as serious, and is ordinarily done only with great forethought. (A transfer to different placement arrangements however can sometimes be justified.)

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VIII. CREDITS, UNITS AND REQUIREMENTS

Up to six units of Sociology 181 may be used for graduation credit. Three units may be used toward the completion of the Sociology major or Sociology minor. Three additional units may be earned to apply to graduation electives. All majors may utilize the six units of Sociology 181 as electives toward graduation. Sociology internships are unpaid positions.

Senior standing and completion of Sociology 101 (Sys. Social Theory) are prerequisites. The grading is CR/NC. No letter grades are given. Sociology graduate students should consult with the Graduate advisor before enrolling in Sociology 281 as there is a limit to the number of cr/nc courses that may be applied toward the M.A. degree.

HOURS/UNIT REQUIREMENTS: Sociology Internships are unpaid positions. On-job placement work includes doing the actual job as well as training programs and other learning aspects provided by the agency which may not be a regular part of your placement. Hours of learning involvement for on-job placement work are as follows:

1 unit of credit = 33 hours/semester; 2 units of credit = 66 hours/semester;
3 units of credit = 88 hours/semester

IX. INTERNSHIP BENEFITS

Many students become so habituated to the academic game of piling up units toward graduation that all courses begin to be viewed as basically the same--a means of getting three units. Internships offer students a different kind of learning experience. Through internships, students have an opportunity to "make a difference" in helping solve community problems and to become knowledgeable about career directions. Students can learn about relationships between academic material and the non-academic world.

For future employment, the successful intern has earned an item of "professional experience" for his/her resume and develops relationships with individuals who may write letters of recommendation. Students may learn about job openings and receive coaching on how to take civil service exams and develop interview skills. Some agencies give work experience credit for the internship period which counts toward employment. Sometimes lightening will strike and the student internship evolves into a paid job. By obtaining "professional experience" and a "track-record", the intern has a crucial advantage over most first-time job-seekers who have only the B.A. degree on their record.

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Sociology Service-Learning Internship

Sociology 181 (Undergraduate) / 281 (Graduate)

To Intern's Supervisor

I want to thank you for participating in our San Jose State University service-learning internship program. The practical experience, the chance to connect academic studies to the community, and the chance to make a difference are very important to our students. Such programs are becoming a significant part of higher education. Hopefully, the program will benefit your organization as well.

The job description and responsibilities should be worked out between you and the student. We have only one specific requirement -- the student must work 88 hours in order to receive three units of credit. Of course, each situation depends upon your needs, the student's abilities and skills, time available and whatever else you both may agree upon. We explain to the students that the internship should be treated as a regular job with the implied commitments and responsibilities. Usually it works best when the student is challenged within the limits of your needs and his/her capacity. Too little, or too much responsibility is not appropriate.

The student has been informed that you will provide an evaluation of his/her efforts at the end of the semester. As a rough guideline, I am providing the following description which appears on the course outline, but feel free to use whatever method seems appropriate. The course is credit/no credit, so for our sake there is no need for extensive detail or painful weighing of the exact letter grade a student deserves.

The intern is to receive an evaluation similar to one a regular employee of the agency might receive. The agency supervisor should go over the evaluation with the intern during the last week of placement. No matter what the form, the evaluation should include:

(1) an analysis of the skills and aptitudes of the intern.

(2) certification of the hours which the intern has devoted to the internship, including training programs which the agency has provided. The suggested evaluation procedure for larger organizations is to use the same format that would be used with regular employees (a standardized rating form), etc. Smaller organizations would be more likely to utilize a letter of recommendation format."

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, feel free to call me if you have any questions, comments or suggestions.

Again, thank you for participating in the Sociology Department's internship program.

Kindly,

Scott Myers-Lipton, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor, Sociology
Director, INVST program
(408) 924-5761

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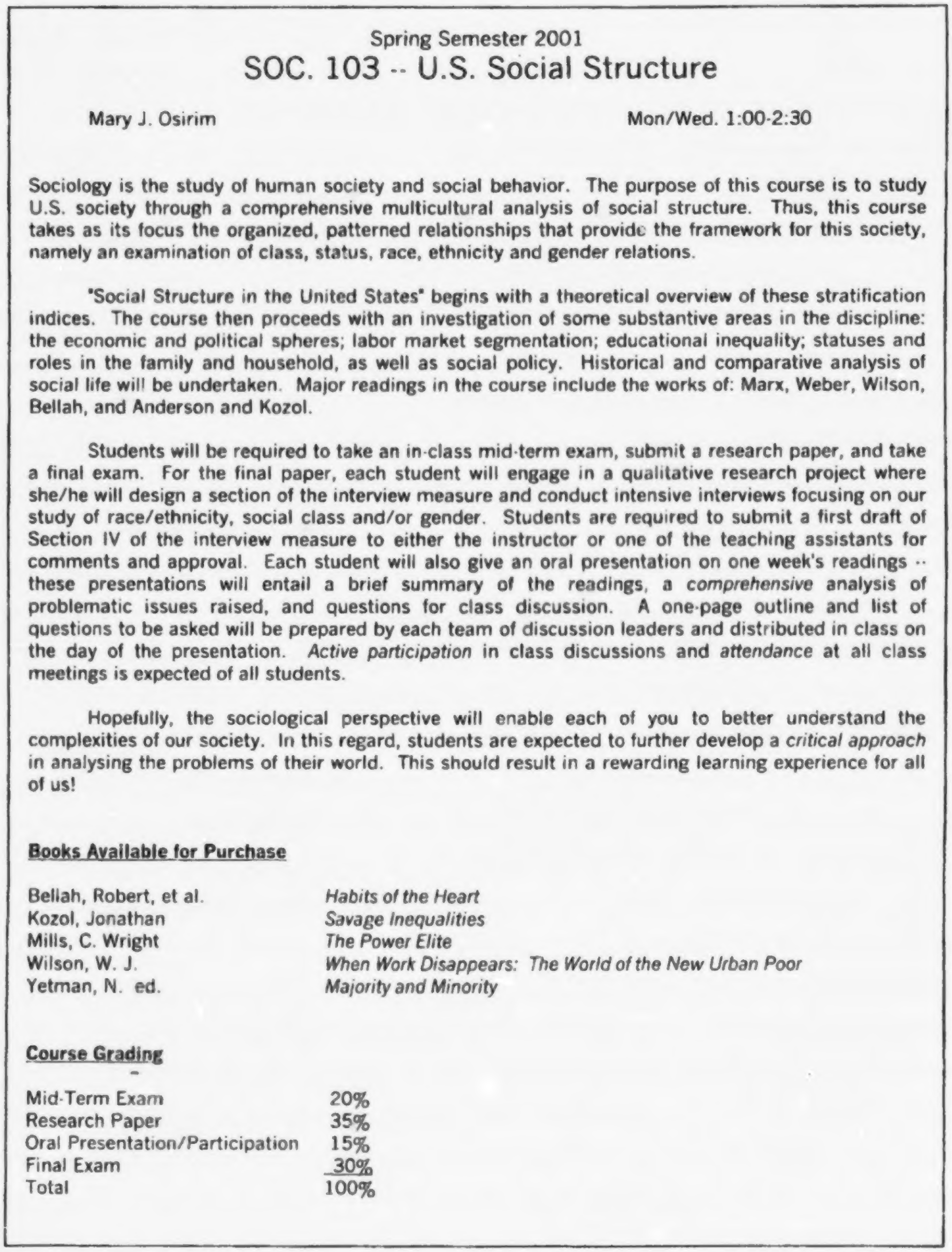

Spring Semester 2001

SOC. 103 -- U.S. Social Structure

Mary J. Osirim — Mon/Wed. 1:00-2:30

Sociology is the study of human society and social behavior. The purpose of this course is to study U.S. society through a comprehensive multicultural analysis of social structure. Thus, this course takes as its focus the organized, patterned relationships that provide the framework for this society, namely an examination of class, status, race, ethnicity and gender relations.

"Social Structure in the United States" begins with a theoretical overview of these stratification indices. The course then proceeds with an investigation of some substantive areas in the discipline: the economic and political spheres; labor market segmentation; educational inequality; statuses and roles in the family and household, as well as social policy. Historical and comparative analysis of social life will be undertaken. Major readings in the course include the works of: Marx, Weber, Wilson, Bellah, and Anderson and Kozol.

Students will be required to take an in-class mid-term exam, submit a research paper, and take a final exam. For the final paper, each student will engage in a qualitative research project where she/he will design a section of the interview measure and conduct intensive interviews focusing on our study of race/ethnicity, social class and/or gender. Students are required to submit a first draft of Section IV of the interview measure to either the instructor or one of the teaching assistants for comments and approval. Each student will also give an oral presentation on one week's readings -- these presentations will entail a brief summary of the readings, a *comprehensive* analysis of problematic issues raised, and questions for class discussion. A one-page outline and list of questions to be asked will be prepared by each team of discussion leaders and distributed in class on the day of the presentation. *Active participation* in class discussions and *attendance* at all class meetings is expected of all students.

Hopefully, the sociological perspective will enable each of you to better understand the complexities of our society. In this regard, students are expected to further develop a *critical approach* in analysing the problems of their world. This should result in a rewarding learning experience for all of us!

Books Available for Purchase

Bellah, Robert, et al.	*Habits of the Heart*
Kozol, Jonathan	*Savage Inequalities*
Mills, C. Wright	*The Power Elite*
Wilson, W. J.	*When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*
Yetman, N. ed.	*Majority and Minority*

Course Grading

Mid-Term Exam	20%
Research Paper	35%
Oral Presentation/Participation	15%
Final Exam	30%
Total	100%

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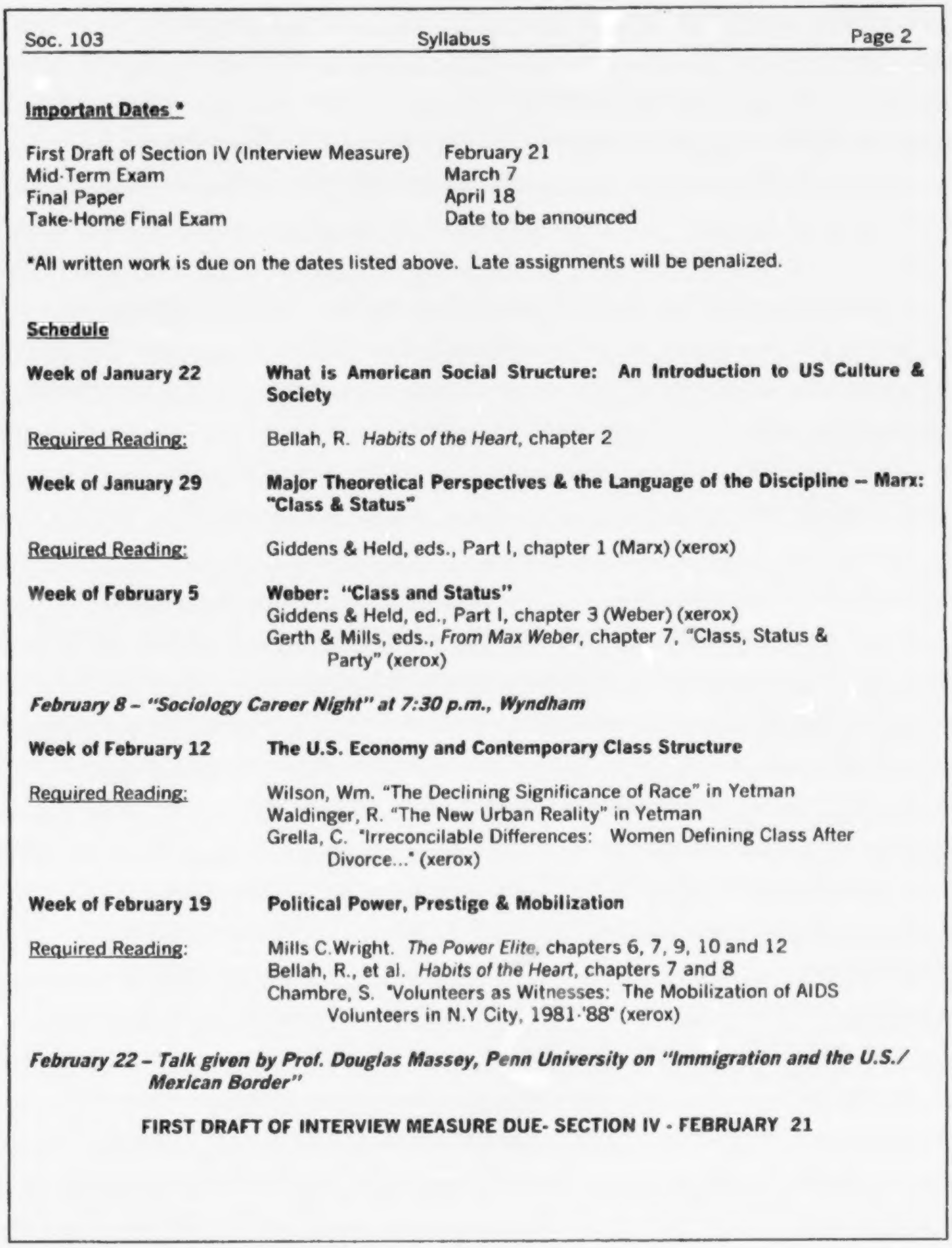


Important Dates *

First Draft of Section IV (Interview Measure)	February 21
Mid-Term Exam	March 7
Final Paper	April 18
Take-Home Final Exam	Date to be announced

*All written work is due on the dates listed above. Late assignments will be penalized.

Schedule

Week of January 22 **What is American Social Structure: An Introduction to US Culture & Society**

Required Reading: Bellah, R. *Habits of the Heart*, chapter 2

Week of January 29 **Major Theoretical Perspectives & the Language of the Discipline -- Marx: "Class & Status"**

Required Reading: Giddens & Held, eds., Part I, chapter 1 (Marx) (xerox)

Week of February 5 **Weber: "Class and Status"**
Giddens & Held, ed., Part I, chapter 3 (Weber) (xerox)
Gerth & Mills, eds., *From Max Weber*, chapter 7, "Class, Status & Party" (xerox)

February 8 – "Sociology Career Night" at 7:30 p.m., Wyndham

Week of February 12 **The U.S. Economy and Contemporary Class Structure**

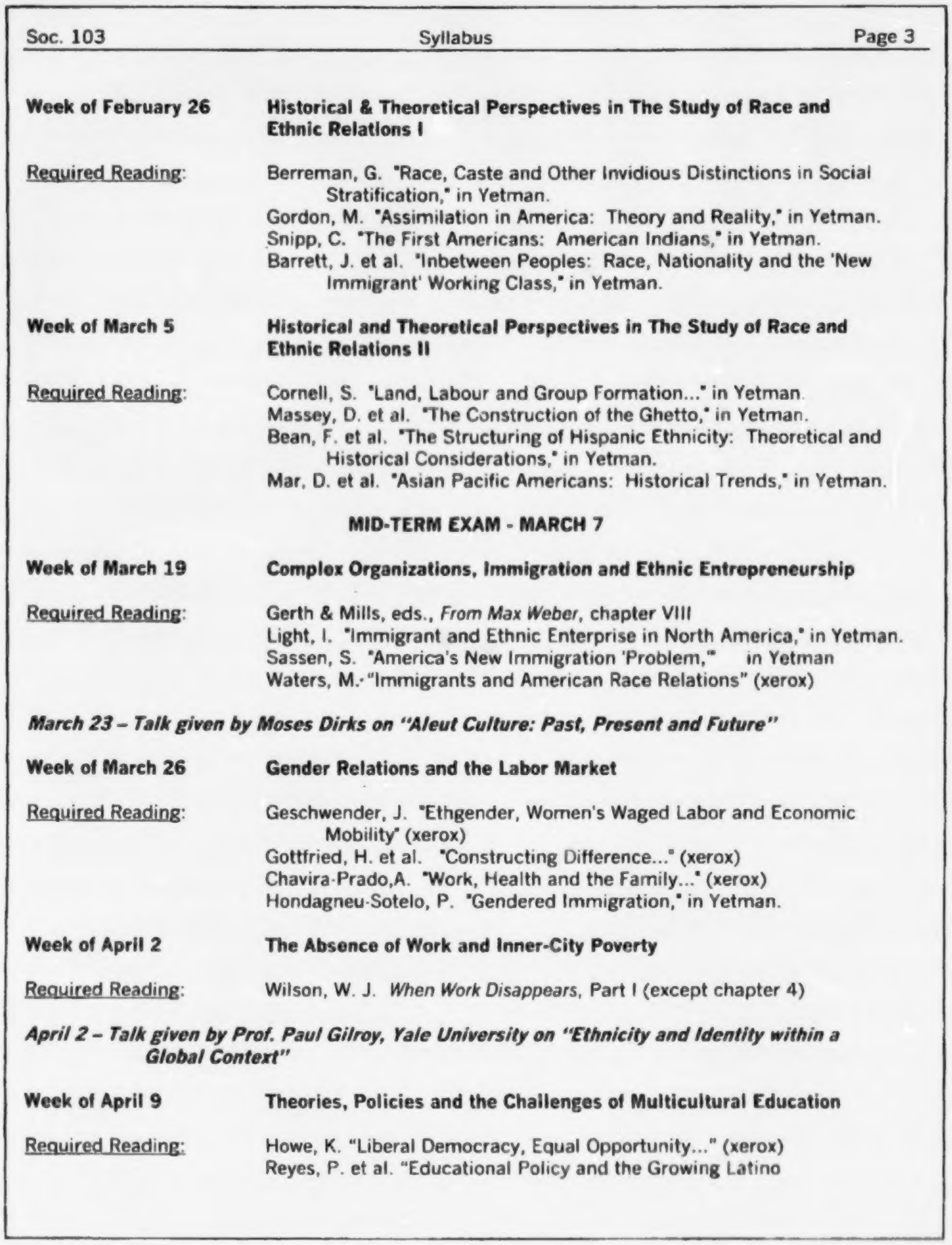
Required Reading:
Wilson, Wm. "The Declining Significance of Race" in Yetman
Waldinger, R. "The New Urban Reality" in Yetman
Grella, C. "Irreconcilable Differences: Women Defining Class After Divorce..." (xerox)

Week of February 19 **Political Power, Prestige & Mobilization**

Required Reading:
Mills C.Wright. *The Power Elite*, chapters 6, 7, 9, 10 and 12
Bellah, R., et al. *Habits of the Heart*, chapters 7 and 8
Chambre, S. "Volunteers as Witnesses: The Mobilization of AIDS Volunteers in N.Y City, 1981-'88" (xerox)

February 22 – Talk given by Prof. Douglas Massey, Penn University on "Immigration and the U.S./Mexican Border"

FIRST DRAFT OF INTERVIEW MEASURE DUE- SECTION IV - FEBRUARY 21



Soc. 103 Syllabus Page 3

Week of February 26 **Historical & Theoretical Perspectives in The Study of Race and Ethnic Relations I**

Required Reading:

Berreman, G. "Race, Caste and Other Invidious Distinctions in Social Stratification," in Yetman.
Gordon, M. "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality," in Yetman.
Snipp, C. "The First Americans: American Indians," in Yetman.
Barrett, J. et al. "Inbetween Peoples: Race, Nationality and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class," in Yetman.

Week of March 5 **Historical and Theoretical Perspectives in The Study of Race and Ethnic Relations II**

Required Reading:

Cornell, S. "Land, Labour and Group Formation..." in Yetman.
Massey, D. et al. "The Construction of the Ghetto," in Yetman.
Bean, F. et al. "The Structuring of Hispanic Ethnicity: Theoretical and Historical Considerations," in Yetman.
Mar, D. et al. "Asian Pacific Americans: Historical Trends," in Yetman.

MID-TERM EXAM - MARCH 7

Week of March 19 **Complex Organizations, Immigration and Ethnic Entrepreneurship**

Required Reading:

Gerth & Mills, eds., *From Max Weber*, chapter VIII
Light, I. "Immigrant and Ethnic Enterprise in North America," in Yetman.
Sassen, S. "America's New Immigration 'Problem,'" in Yetman
Waters, M.-"Immigrants and American Race Relations" (xerox)

March 23 – Talk given by Moses Dirks on "Aleut Culture: Past, Present and Future"

Week of March 26 **Gender Relations and the Labor Market**

Required Reading:

Geschwender, J. "Ethgender, Women's Waged Labor and Economic Mobility" (xerox)
Gottfried, H. et al. "Constructing Difference..." (xerox)
Chavira-Prado, A. "Work, Health and the Family..." (xerox)
Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. "Gendered Immigration," in Yetman.

Week of April 2 **The Absence of Work and Inner-City Poverty**

Required Reading:

Wilson, W. J. *When Work Disappears*, Part I (except chapter 4)

April 2 – Talk given by Prof. Paul Gilroy, Yale University on "Ethnicity and Identity within a Global Context"

Week of April 9 **Theories, Policies and the Challenges of Multicultural Education**

Required Reading:

Howe, K. "Liberal Democracy, Equal Opportunity..." (xerox)
Reyes, P. et al. "Educational Policy and the Growing Latino

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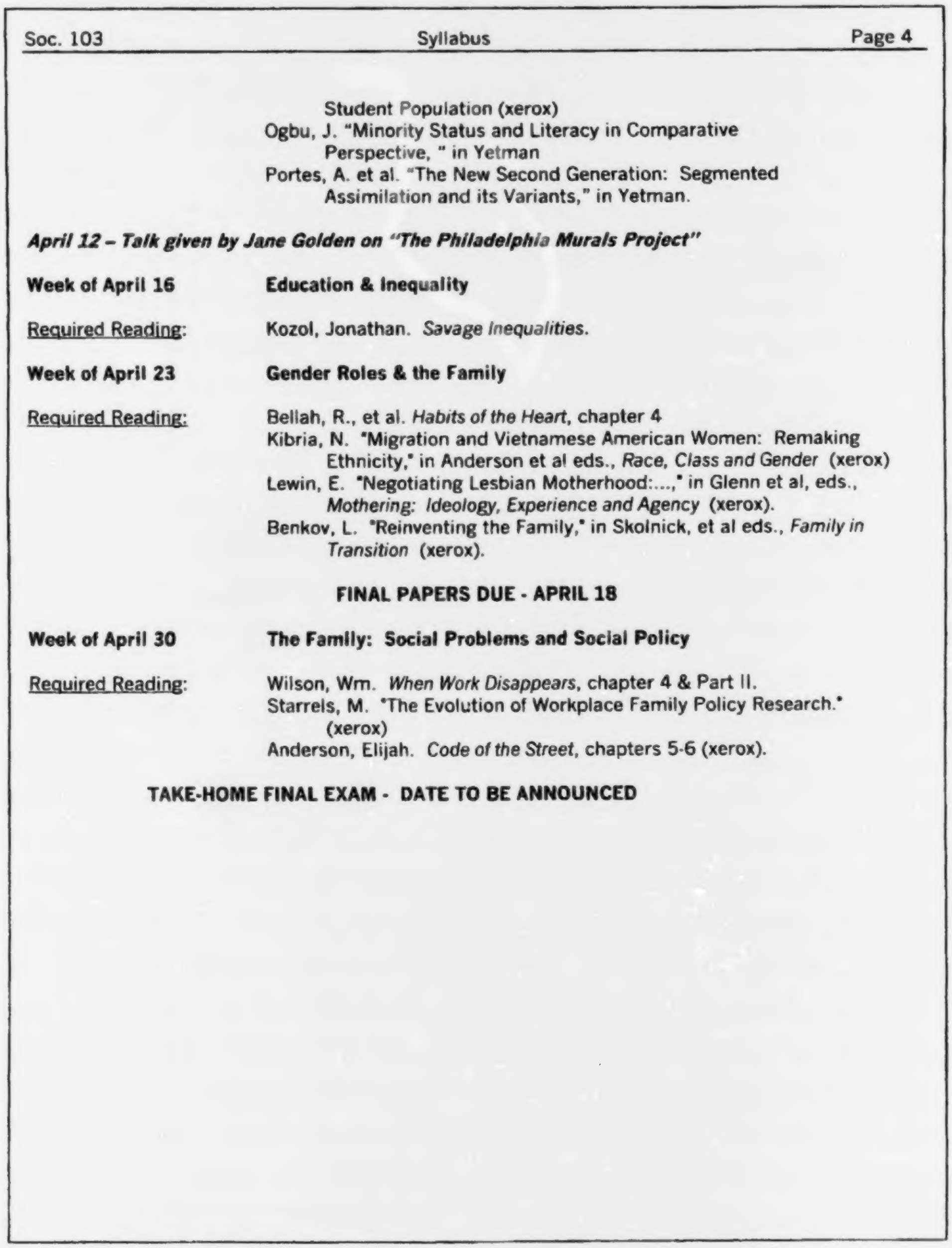

Student Population (xerox)
Ogbu, J. "Minority Status and Literacy in Comparative Perspective, " in Yetman
Portes, A. et al. "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants," in Yetman.

April 12 – Talk given by Jane Golden on "The Philadelphia Murals Project"

Week of April 16 **Education & Inequality**

Required Reading: Kozol, Jonathan. *Savage Inequalities.*

Week of April 23 **Gender Roles & the Family**

Required Reading:
Bellah, R., et al. *Habits of the Heart*, chapter 4
Kibria, N. "Migration and Vietnamese American Women: Remaking Ethnicity," in Anderson et al eds., *Race, Class and Gender* (xerox)
Lewin, E. "Negotiating Lesbian Motherhood:...," in Glenn et al, eds., *Mothering: Ideology, Experience and Agency* (xerox).
Benkov, L. "Reinventing the Family," in Skolnick, et al eds., *Family in Transition* (xerox).

FINAL PAPERS DUE - APRIL 18

Week of April 30 **The Family: Social Problems and Social Policy**

Required Reading:
Wilson, Wm. *When Work Disappears*, chapter 4 & Part II.
Starrels, M. "The Evolution of Workplace Family Policy Research." (xerox)
Anderson, Elijah. *Code of the Street*, chapters 5-6 (xerox).

TAKE-HOME FINAL EXAM - DATE TO BE ANNOUNCED

Sociology 422: Contemporary Theory

Spring, 2000

M.T. Phillips
Class Meeting: 1:00 - 2:15 p.m. (and various other times - just for fun)
Office Hours: 2:15 - 3:45 p.m. TTH

Class Structure and Goals:

For approximately four months, we will explore multiple traditions/modes of social theorizing. We will discuss how assumptions about the "nature" of social worlds shape the works of social thinkers (who are not all necessarily "sociologists"). We will seek and discuss "theory" wherever we find it: In a novel, in social policy, in a film, in a museum, in a social movement, in a piece of visual art - wherever. We will read and discuss major contemporary theorists, and work to develop/fine-tune our own theorizing.

And we will discuss the role of theorizing/theory in our own work and lives.

Class Process and Goals:

Now how will we do all of the above? Well, of course we will read and read and read and read. We will talk and listen to one another. We will spend some time in the classroom - and we do a lot of work outside of the classroom. We will be aware of what's going on in the world outside of our classroom. We will bring material into the classroom not listed on the syllabus. We will each take responsibility for facilitating classroom discussions. We will push ourselves to think through the layers and levels of social life. We will talk and listen to one another. What is the point of all of this? *My* goals for the course are:

☐ Read and discuss the theorizing done in various studies;
☐ Explore the relationship of theory to methodology;
☐ Explore *theorizing* and theory as it is done by social observers in disciplines other than sociology;
☐ Explore the work of some "mainstream" contemporary sociological theorists;
☐ Develop theories that will be potentially used in theses.

Class Goals and Objectives (Behavioral Objectives):

What *I* hope will have happened by May are the following:

☐ We have come to new understandings of exactly what theory is;
☐ Students will be able to identify and discuss the work of some of the major contemporary social theorists;
☐ Students will be able to discuss the relationship of theorizing to social change;
☐ Students will be able to use various theories in their theses;
☐ Students will be able to create original theories in their own theses;
☐ Students will be able to identify theorizing about society in a variety of disciplines other than sociology;
☐ Students will be able to critique the theories of others;
☐ Students will be able to place their own ideas/theories in conversation with the ideas/theories of others.
☐ Students will be able to orally communicate their own ideas/theories.

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Sociology 422: Contemporary Theory
Syllabus
Page 2

4-Credit Hour Justification

In addition to the 3 in-class credit hours, the additional components of the course must be successfully completed by the students in order to pass the course:

☐ "Ideas Inside History" assignment requires out-of-class meetings by student groups;
☐ A film "series" (2) will be viewed outside of class, and discussed in class;
☐ Essay examinations (3) are take-home assignments, and require additional research beyond class readings.
☐ Students will have to prepare outside of class for two group presentations.

Required Texts:

Lemert, Charles. 1999. *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*. New York: Westview Press.

Thompson, Becky. 1994. *A Hunger So Wide and So Deep: American Women Speak Out on Eating Problems.* Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

Cohen, Cathy. 1999. *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Formation in the United States*. New York: Routledge Press.

Films: TBD by groups

Class Attendance/Participation/Writing: We should be clear: We will come to class prepared, having read the material, thoughtful about ways to move the class outside of the classroom, prepared to facilitate class discussions, prepared to engage in conversation - and on fire! – 30%

Please Note: Successful completion of the course requires that you are fully engaged from January through May. Please note again: Attendance *is* important, but is not the sole measure of participation. My best advice is to simply come to class prepared to contribute. It is difficult in this course to "catch-up" at the end of the semester.

3 take-home examinations – 70%

Please Note:

This is a 400-level course, and will be conducted as such. There will be very few "lectures," and students are expected to come to class prepared to discuss readings. A seminar course is a particular kind of course, characterized by specific norms guiding exchange among students, and between students and professor. We will talk more about this in class.

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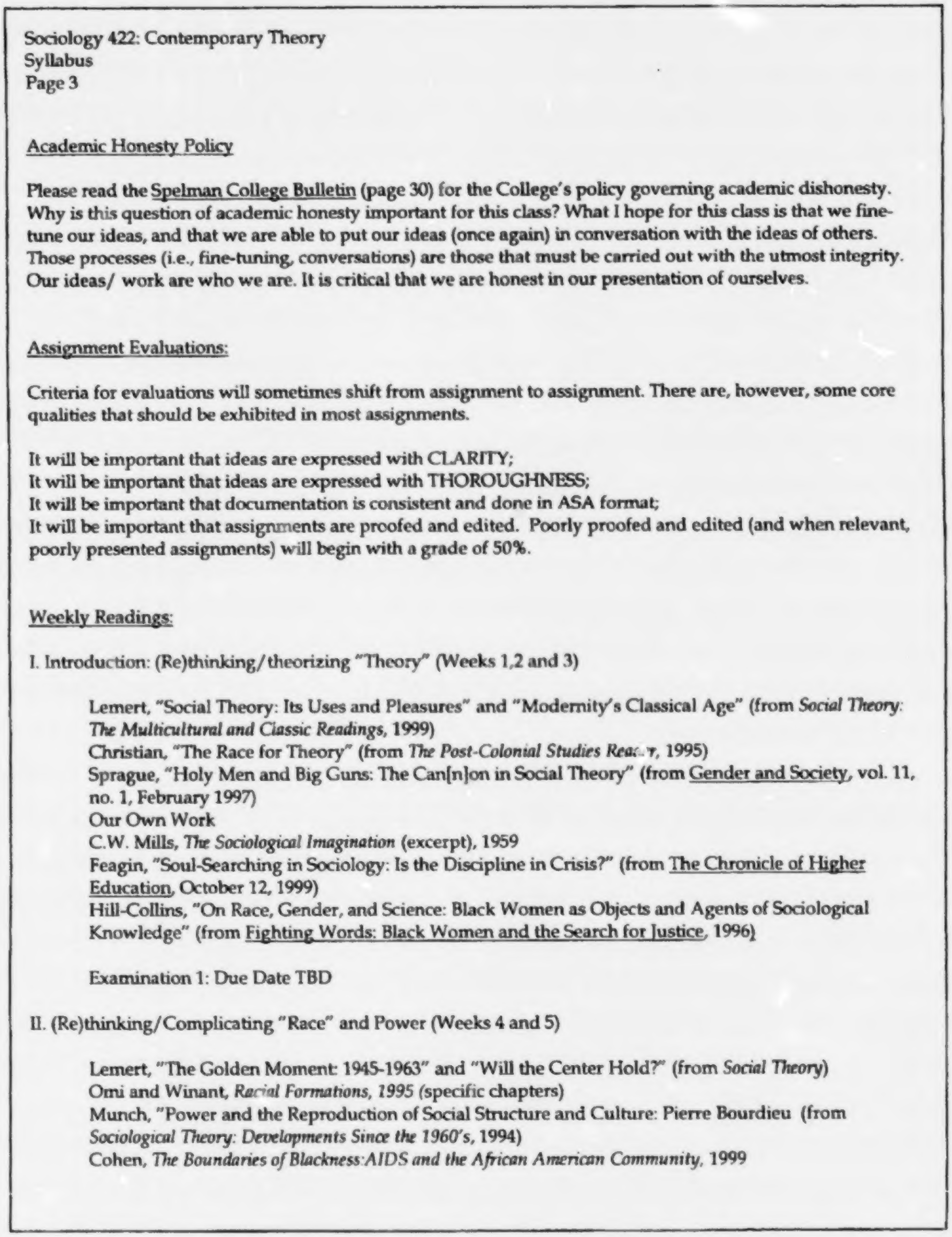

Sociology 422: Contemporary Theory
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Page 3

Academic Honesty Policy

Please read the Spelman College Bulletin (page 30) for the College's policy governing academic dishonesty. Why is this question of academic honesty important for this class? What I hope for this class is that we fine-tune our ideas, and that we are able to put our ideas (once again) in conversation with the ideas of others. Those processes (i.e., fine-tuning, conversations) are those that must be carried out with the utmost integrity. Our ideas/ work are who we are. It is critical that we are honest in our presentation of ourselves.

Assignment Evaluations:

Criteria for evaluations will sometimes shift from assignment to assignment. There are, however, some core qualities that should be exhibited in most assignments.

It will be important that ideas are expressed with CLARITY;
It will be important that ideas are expressed with THOROUGHNESS;
It will be important that documentation is consistent and done in ASA format;
It will be important that assignments are proofed and edited. Poorly proofed and edited (and when relevant, poorly presented assignments) will begin with a grade of 50%.

Weekly Readings:

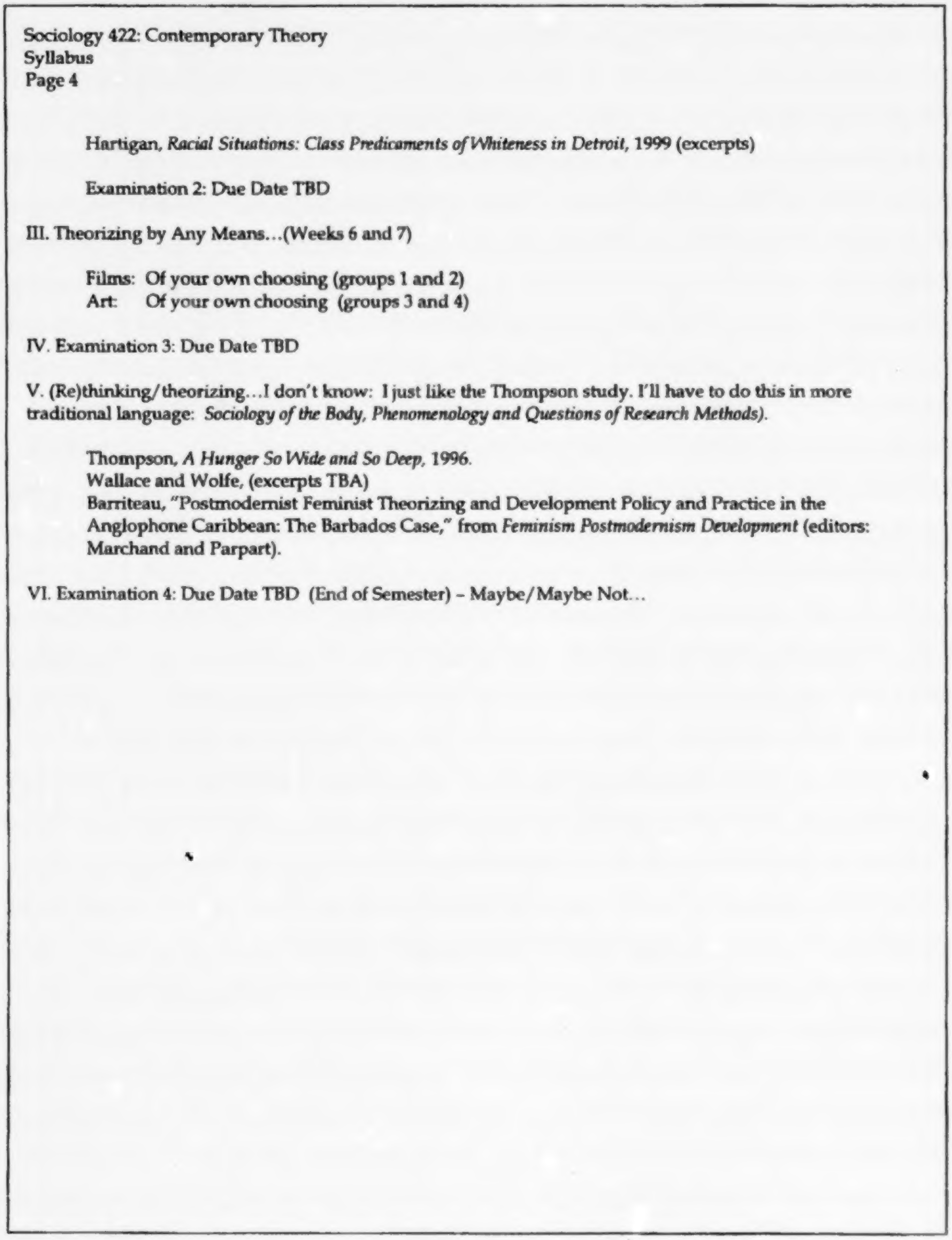
I. Introduction: (Re)thinking/theorizing "Theory" (Weeks 1,2 and 3)

Lemert, "Social Theory: Its Uses and Pleasures" and "Modernity's Classical Age" (from *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*, 1999)
Christian, "The Race for Theory" (from *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, 1995)
Sprague, "Holy Men and Big Guns: The Can[n]on in Social Theory" (from Gender and Society, vol. 11, no. 1, February 1997)
Our Own Work
C.W. Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (excerpt), 1959
Feagin, "Soul-Searching in Sociology: Is the Discipline in Crisis?" (from The Chronicle of Higher Education, October 12, 1999)
Hill-Collins, "On Race, Gender, and Science: Black Women as Objects and Agents of Sociological Knowledge" (from Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice, 1996)

Examination 1: Due Date TBD

II. (Re)thinking/Complicating "Race" and Power (Weeks 4 and 5)

Lemert, "The Golden Moment: 1945-1963" and "Will the Center Hold?" (from *Social Theory*)
Omi and Winant, *Racial Formations, 1995* (specific chapters)
Munch, "Power and the Reproduction of Social Structure and Culture: Pierre Bourdieu (from *Sociological Theory: Developments Since the 1960's*, 1994)
Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness:AIDS and the African American Community*, 1999



Sociology 422: Contemporary Theory
Syllabus
Page 4

Hartigan, *Racial Situations: Class Predicaments of Whiteness in Detroit*, 1999 (excerpts)

Examination 2: Due Date TBD

III. Theorizing by Any Means…(Weeks 6 and 7)

Films: Of your own choosing (groups 1 and 2)
Art: Of your own choosing (groups 3 and 4)

IV. Examination 3: Due Date TBD

V. (Re)thinking/theorizing…I don't know: I just like the Thompson study. I'll have to do this in more traditional language: *Sociology of the Body, Phenomenology and Questions of Research Methods).*

Thompson, *A Hunger So Wide and So Deep*, 1996.
Wallace and Wolfe, (excerpts TBA)
Barriteau, "Postmodernist Feminist Theorizing and Development Policy and Practice in the Anglophone Caribbean: The Barbados Case," from *Feminism Postmodernism Development* (editors: Marchand and Parpart).

VI. Examination 4: Due Date TBD (End of Semester) – Maybe/Maybe Not…

Part Five
Sample Assignments

Sociology 80: Social Problems

1st Set of Integration Papers

Due Tuesday, February 13
Single Spaced, 1-2 pages for each question

I these essays, you must integrate text with your service-learning project. That means taking issues that your are observing and learning about in your service-learning project and relating them to specific ideas from the text. To answer the below questions, you will have to be an active learner. For example, you will have to pay close attention to the actions of people who are at your service-learning project, and then take good notes afterwards.

1) Describe in detail your service-learning site.

- Before you enter the site, what do you imagine the clients to be like? the staff?
- After you have entered the site, what does it look/feel/smell like?

Is it light or dark? Is it a welcoming place? What are on the walls?

- What is the ethnicity, social class, and gender of the staff? the clients?
- On first impression, what are the attitudes of the staff? clients?
- Describe the community the project is in.

2) In light of Donileen Loseke's article, how is your service-learning social problem(s) "social constructed"? First, define what Loseke means by "social construction." Then, answer the following questions:

- What are the socially constructed images that surround your issue?
- How is the social problem defined? Does your staff define it in the same way as the larger public or the media?
- Who are the "morally pure"? the victims? the villains?
- Are there less/more "extreme" issues related to your social problem that are made less compelling (and thus less/more worthy of sympathy) because of the way your issue is defined?

3) In Sam Marullo's article "Cultivating the Sociological Imagination" he discusses how service-learning involves linking "the individual biographies of the people with whom they [i.e., the students] work with [to] the larger social forces that have affected them." (p. 12)

- Specifically, which individual biographies might you want to find out more about? What strategy will you use to get the information?
- What larger "social forces" do you think might affect these individual biographies?
- What other ideas (i.e., problem solving, conflict resolution, values education diversity, citizenship social change and service) from Marullo's article connect to you and your project?

Extra Credit:

How do the issues of poverty and inequality that Michael Males discusses in his article "Impounding the Future" relate to what you are observing and learning about at your service-learning project?

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Sociology 80: Social Problems

2nd Set of Integration Papers

Due Thursday, March 1
Single Spaced, 1—2 pages for each question

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3 KEY THINGS TO DO:

- Provide specific examples of events in your paper from the service-learning project or specific things that you have observed at your project.
- Demonstrate an understanding of the author's perspective
- Integrate specific examples from the text to support your points

Question 1:

Kozol discusses the problems of school funding in California and Texas, while Anyon discusses how social class is reproduced in schools. Please explore how these issues relate to your service-learning project.

Question 2:

How do the issues of "houselessness" relate to your service-learning project?

- stigma / status (in Kozol reading)
- high cost of housing in Silicon Valley (in articles by Timmer, Goldberg, Foo, and Hutchison)
- non-living wage jobs
- people feel trapped, hopeless, and disempowered (or the opposite)
- lack of prevention
- the service system doesn't encourage functional behavior
- the abuse of the system by the "power elite"

Question 3:

How do the issues of class exploitation (in sweatshops, the WTO, etc.), and the response to this exploitation (i.e., indifference, protests, organizing for change, etc.) relate to what you have observed and/or learned about at your service-learning project?

Question 4: Extra Credit

a) What has occurred in your service-learning project over the past several weeks that relates to the readings from the last set of integration papers (Males, Marullo, Loseke, Sidel, King, etc).?

b) Did you observe or learn anything that is not related to the text, but is still important to report?

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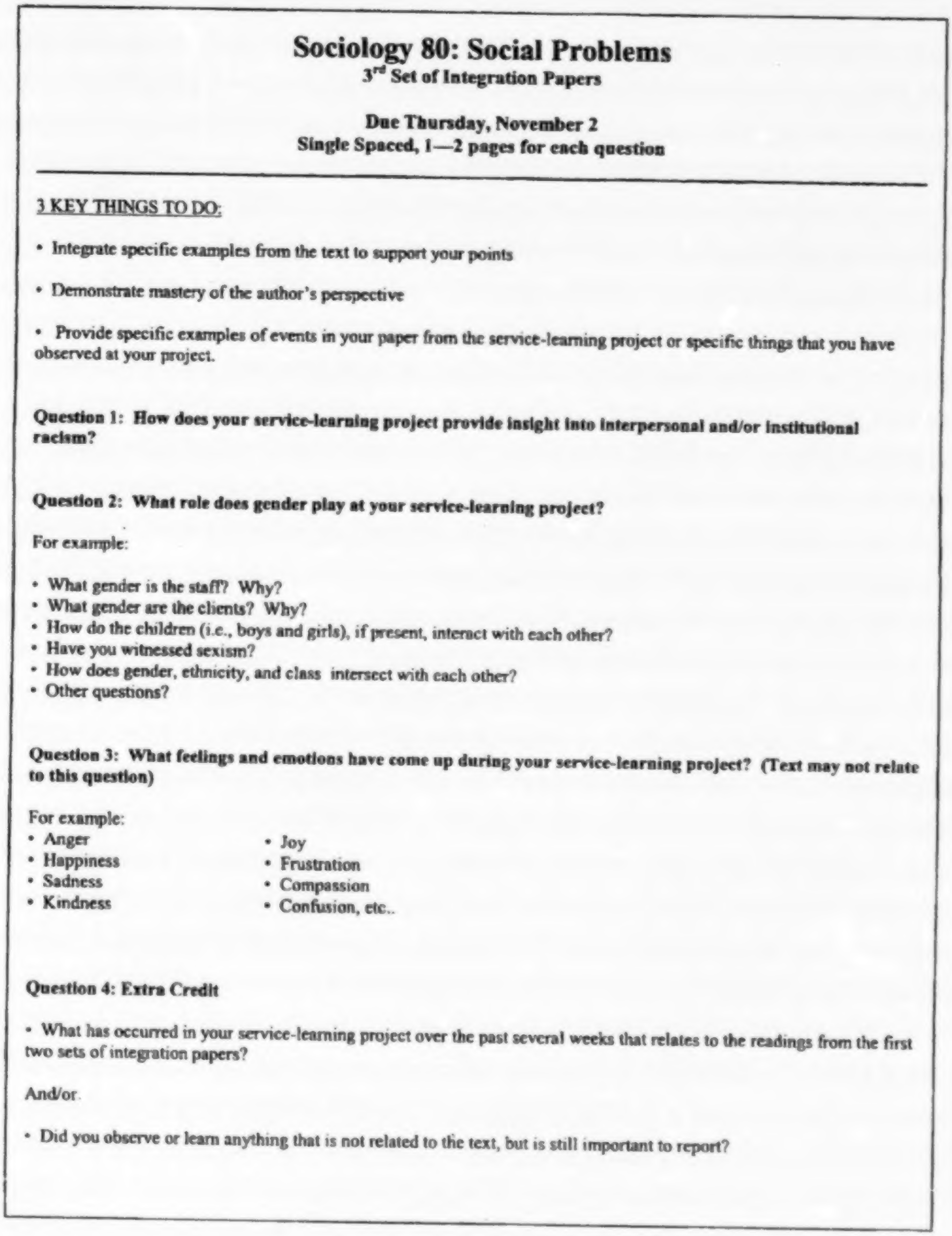


Sociology 80: Social Problems

3rd Set of Integration Papers

Due Thursday, November 2
Single Spaced, 1—2 pages for each question

3 KEY THINGS TO DO:

- Integrate specific examples from the text to support your points
- Demonstrate mastery of the author's perspective
- Provide specific examples of events in your paper from the service-learning project or specific things that you have observed at your project.

Question 1: How does your service-learning project provide insight into interpersonal and/or institutional racism?

Question 2: What role does gender play at your service-learning project?

For example:

- What gender is the staff? Why?
- What gender are the clients? Why?
- How do the children (i.e., boys and girls), if present, interact with each other?
- Have you witnessed sexism?
- How does gender, ethnicity, and class intersect with each other?
- Other questions?

Question 3: What feelings and emotions have come up during your service-learning project? (Text may not relate to this question)

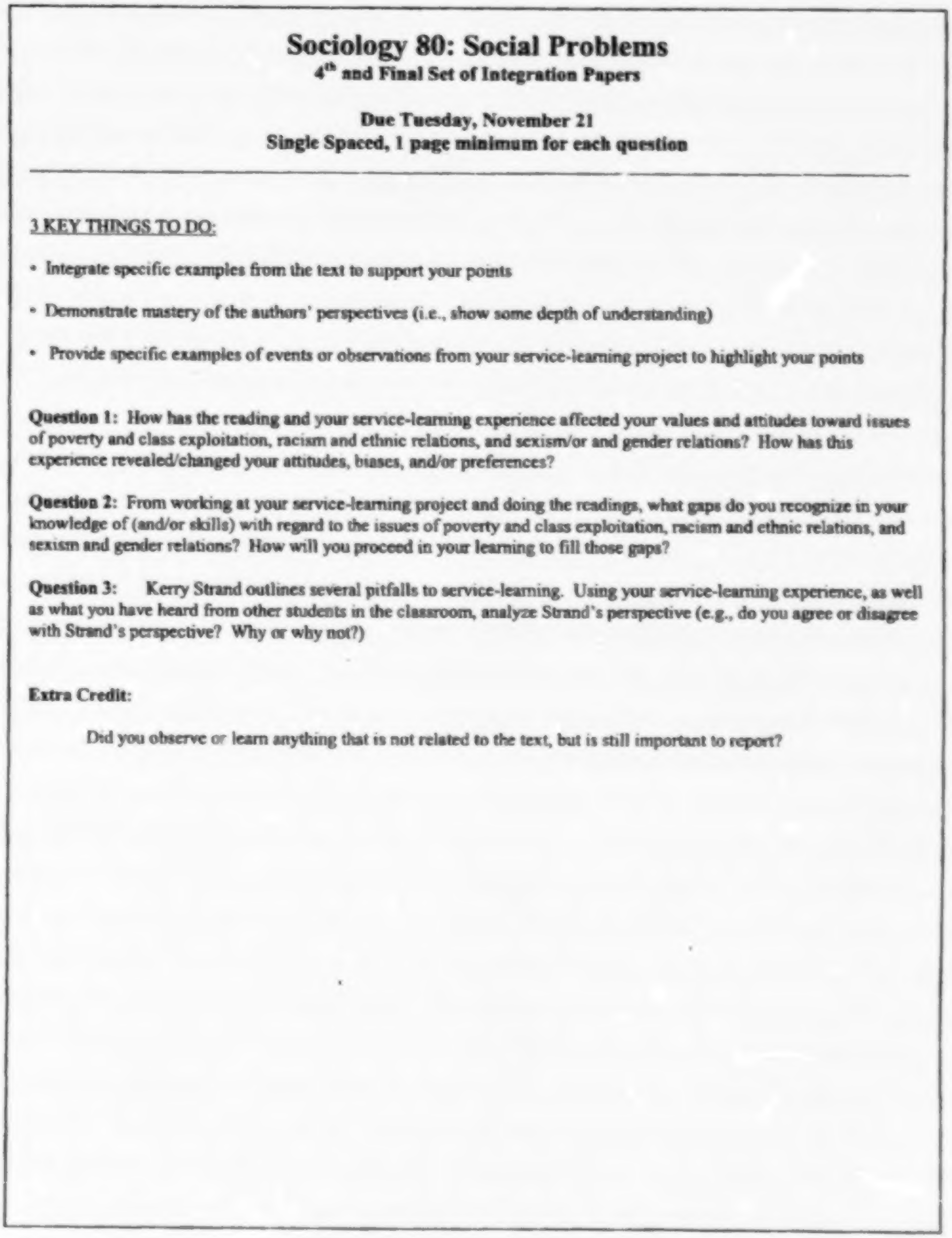
For example:
- Anger
- Happiness
- Sadness
- Kindness
- Joy
- Frustration
- Compassion
- Confusion, etc..

Question 4: Extra Credit

- What has occurred in your service-learning project over the past several weeks that relates to the readings from the first two sets of integration papers?

And/or

- Did you observe or learn anything that is not related to the text, but is still important to report?



Sociology 80: Social Problems

4th and Final Set of Integration Papers

Due Tuesday, November 21
Single Spaced, 1 page minimum for each question

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3 KEY THINGS TO DO:

- Integrate specific examples from the text to support your points
- Demonstrate mastery of the authors' perspectives (i.e., show some depth of understanding)
- Provide specific examples of events or observations from your service-learning project to highlight your points

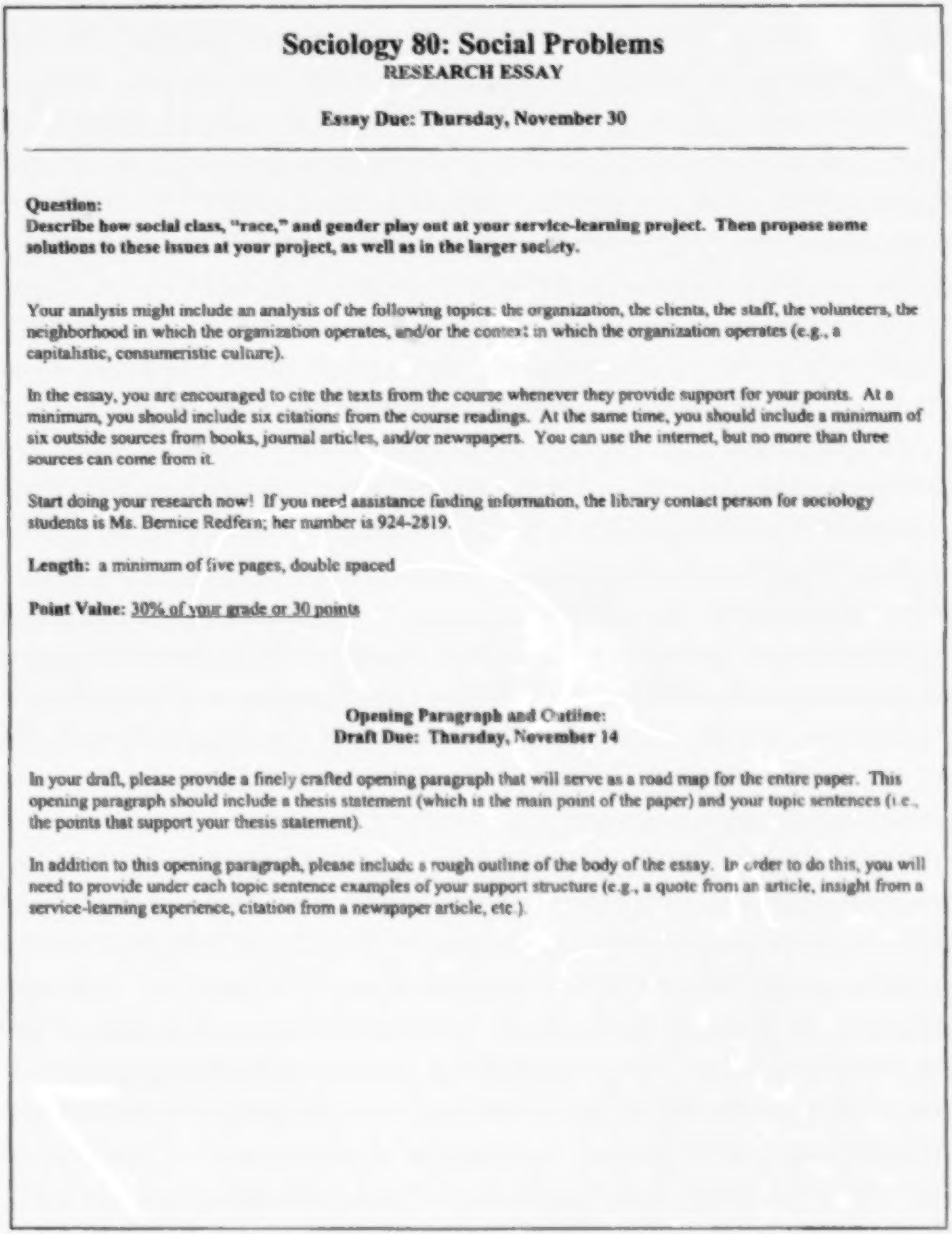
Question 1: How has the reading and your service-learning experience affected your values and attitudes toward issues of poverty and class exploitation, racism and ethnic relations, and sexism/or and gender relations? How has this experience revealed/changed your attitudes, biases, and/or preferences?

Question 2: From working at your service-learning project and doing the readings, what gaps do you recognize in your knowledge of (and/or skills) with regard to the issues of poverty and class exploitation, racism and ethnic relations, and sexism and gender relations? How will you proceed in your learning to fill those gaps?

Question 3: Kerry Strand outlines several pitfalls to service-learning. Using your service-learning experience, as well as what you have heard from other students in the classroom, analyze Strand's perspective (e.g., do you agree or disagree with Strand's perspective? Why or why not?)

Extra Credit:

Did you observe or learn anything that is not related to the text, but is still important to report?



Sociology 80: Social Problems
RESEARCH ESSAY

Essay Due: Thursday, November 30

Question:
Describe how social class, "race," and gender play out at your service-learning project. Then propose some solutions to these issues at your project, as well as in the larger society.

Your analysis might include an analysis of the following topics: the organization, the clients, the staff, the volunteers, the neighborhood in which the organization operates, and/or the context in which the organization operates (e.g., a capitalistic, consumeristic culture).

In the essay, you are encouraged to cite the texts from the course whenever they provide support for your points. At a minimum, you should include six citations from the course readings. At the same time, you should include a minimum of six outside sources from books, journal articles, and/or newspapers. You can use the internet, but no more than three sources can come from it.

Start doing your research now! If you need assistance finding information, the library contact person for sociology students is Ms. Bernice Redfern; her number is 924-2819.

Length: a minimum of five pages, double spaced

Point Value: 30% of your grade or 30 points

Opening Paragraph and Outline:
Draft Due: Thursday, November 14

In your draft, please provide a finely crafted opening paragraph that will serve as a road map for the entire paper. This opening paragraph should include a thesis statement (which is the main point of the paper) and your topic sentences (i.e., the points that support your thesis statement).

In addition to this opening paragraph, please include a rough outline of the body of the essay. In order to do this, you will need to provide under each topic sentence examples of your support structure (e.g., a quote from an article, insight from a service-learning experience, citation from a newspaper article, etc.).

Sociology Service-Learning Internship

SOCIOLOGICAL REFLECTION ESSAYS

On classes 3,4, 6 and 7 you will write a 1-2 page sociological reflection essay on one of the questions below. You will want to relate the topic of the question to what you are observing and learning at your service-learning internship site.

- Analyze your clients, staff, or community setting from a "race," class, and/or gender perspective.
- What course work or reading have you done that is relevant to your service-learning internship?
- How does this experience contradict, challenge, or confirm your academic knowledge?
- What are the main challenges facing your organization?
- What are the manifest and latent functions of your organization?
- What are the main social issues facing your clients?
- What principles, concepts, theories, skills or information have you learned at your service-learning internship?
- Is the organization successful at carrying out its mission statement?
- What conflicting thoughts and feelings do you have about this experience? Can this point of dissonance be reconciled? If so, how?
- What are the problems within your organization? Are these problems structural problems?
- How have your attitudes and values changed because of your work at this site?
- Make up your own sociological reflection question and answer it.

Sociology Service-Learning Internship

ESSAY

Due Thursday, Dec. 7, Sociology Office

Essay Question: Provide a sociological analysis to a problem and/or issue at your internship.

The essay needs to answer the following four questions:

1) What is the background history of your issue?
2) How does social theory explain your issue?
3) How does sociological and/or social science research apply to your issue?
4) What do sociologists, social scientists, and others see as solutions to your issue?

In the essay, the minimum requirements are: that you use one social theory, three research articles that focus on your issue, and provide observations from your service-learning internship that support your points. Please list your references on the last page of the essay.

Length: 10 pages, double spaced

Evaluation: Pass or Not Pass

Students will receive a "pass" or "not pass" for this essay. If you receive a pass and have completed your other work (weekly journals, description of site, interview paper, and 88 hours of service) you will receive a "CR" on your report card. If you receive a "not pass," but have done the above work, you will receive an "incomplete" and will have the opportunity to redo the paper in the summer or fall. If you receive a "not pass" and have not completed the above work, you will be given a "NC" and will have to repeat the course.

Grading Criteria for Essay:

1) Content:
substantive * knowledge of subject * explored main ideas*

2) Organization:
ideas clearly stated * ideas supported * succinct * well-organized *
logical sequencing * cohesive * coherent *

3) Integration of Information:
social theories * sociological concepts * journal articles * internship

4) Language Use & Vocabulary:
verb tense agreement * sentence construction * spelling * punctuation * range of vocabulary *
word choice *

Suggestion 1: Historical Overview

You will want to provide an historical overview of the problem you are examining. For example, if you are working at a school, you will probably want to discuss how proposition 13 has affected your issue. Furthermore, you will want to discuss how the history of such issues as racism, sexism, and/or poverty in the U.S. has affected your issue.

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Sociology Service-Learning Internship – Essay, 2

Lastly, you will want to provide specific information to support your points. For example, if your issue is child abuse, and you state that there is a lot of it, please provide the exact number of cases that occur in California and the United States. In addition, you will want to explore why California or the U.S. has a greater or lower level of child abuse than other states or countries.

Suggestion 2: Get out your sociology books and go to the library

Go back and look up the sociological theories and research studies that you have learned in your sociology classes (e.g., intro, social problems, theory, family, criminology, race and ethnic relations, etc.). Also, go to the library and review sociological journals to find out what the current research has to say about your issue. Use these resources to help explain what you have observed at your internship.

Suggestion 3: Go talk to a prof

To help you identify which sociological theories provide the best explanation of your issue, go and talk to a sociology professor. Also, ask her or him what current research has been done in this area. Get the name of the article or journal from them.

Suggestion 4: Provide examples from your internship

In the essay, make sure that you provide examples from your internship to support your points. Remember, you have some expertise in your area since you spent 88 hours at your internship.

Sociology Service-Learning Internship – Essay 3

CRITERIA FOR ESSAY

Suggestions When Writing an Essay

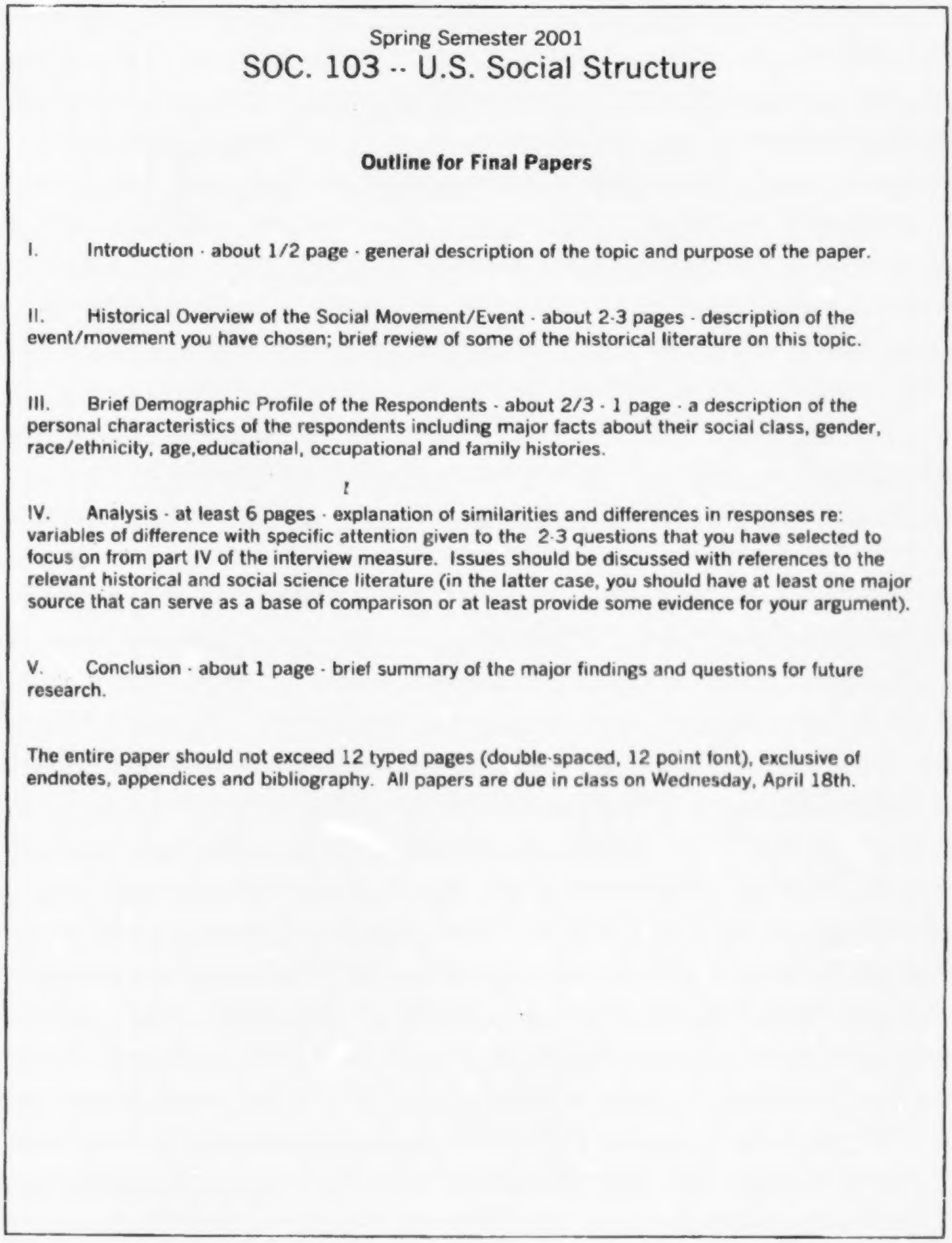
- Your essay needs a good road map and the first paragraph should provide it. In addition, the first sentence should grab the reader and invite her to read on.
- In the body of the essay, you should support your points by giving an example from the text, by providing insight from a service-learning experience, or by quoting an author.

  Remember, the quote supports a point you've made. Don't have the quote first with your point following it.
- You need to introduce a quotation; don't just start a sentence with a quote. For example:

  According to Doob (1968), race and ethnicity...." (12).
  Pedraza (1651) states, "immigration..." (2).
- If the quotation is more than a few words, you should place the period before the last quotation mark.
  For example: "   ."
- Do not copy straight from the book; this is plagiarism! If you use someone else's idea to support your point, give the person the credit deserved by citing him.
- If you use a quotation that is longer than 5 sentences, indent one-half inch on the left margin (one tab). For example:

  Advocates of service-learning believe that it can reverse the troubling transformation of young adults' attitudes and displace the "death of altruism" (Levine, 1980). As stated above, many educational critics believe that it is crucial for higher education to become a force for civic responsibility. Newman states:

  > If education is to be the most certain and most legitimate engine of government, the students must be given opportunities to develop skills, beliefs, and confidence that will enable them to be the committed compassionate citizens upon which this world depends. They need experiences that reinforce this ability to work together. The academic world is too focused on individual effort (in Roche, 1987: 70).



Spring Semester 2001

SOC. 103 -- U.S. Social Structure

Outline for Final Papers

I. Introduction - about 1/2 page - general description of the topic and purpose of the paper.

II. Historical Overview of the Social Movement/Event - about 2-3 pages - description of the event/movement you have chosen; brief review of some of the historical literature on this topic.

III. Brief Demographic Profile of the Respondents - about 2/3 - 1 page - a description of the personal characteristics of the respondents including major facts about their social class, gender, race/ethnicity, age,educational, occupational and family histories.

IV. Analysis - at least 6 pages - explanation of similarities and differences in responses re: variables of difference with specific attention given to the 2-3 questions that you have selected to focus on from part IV of the interview measure. Issues should be discussed with references to the relevant historical and social science literature (in the latter case, you should have at least one major source that can serve as a base of comparison or at least provide some evidence for your argument).

V. Conclusion - about 1 page - brief summary of the major findings and questions for future research.

The entire paper should not exceed 12 typed pages (double-spaced, 12 point font), exclusive of endnotes, appendices and bibliography. All papers are due in class on Wednesday, April 18th.

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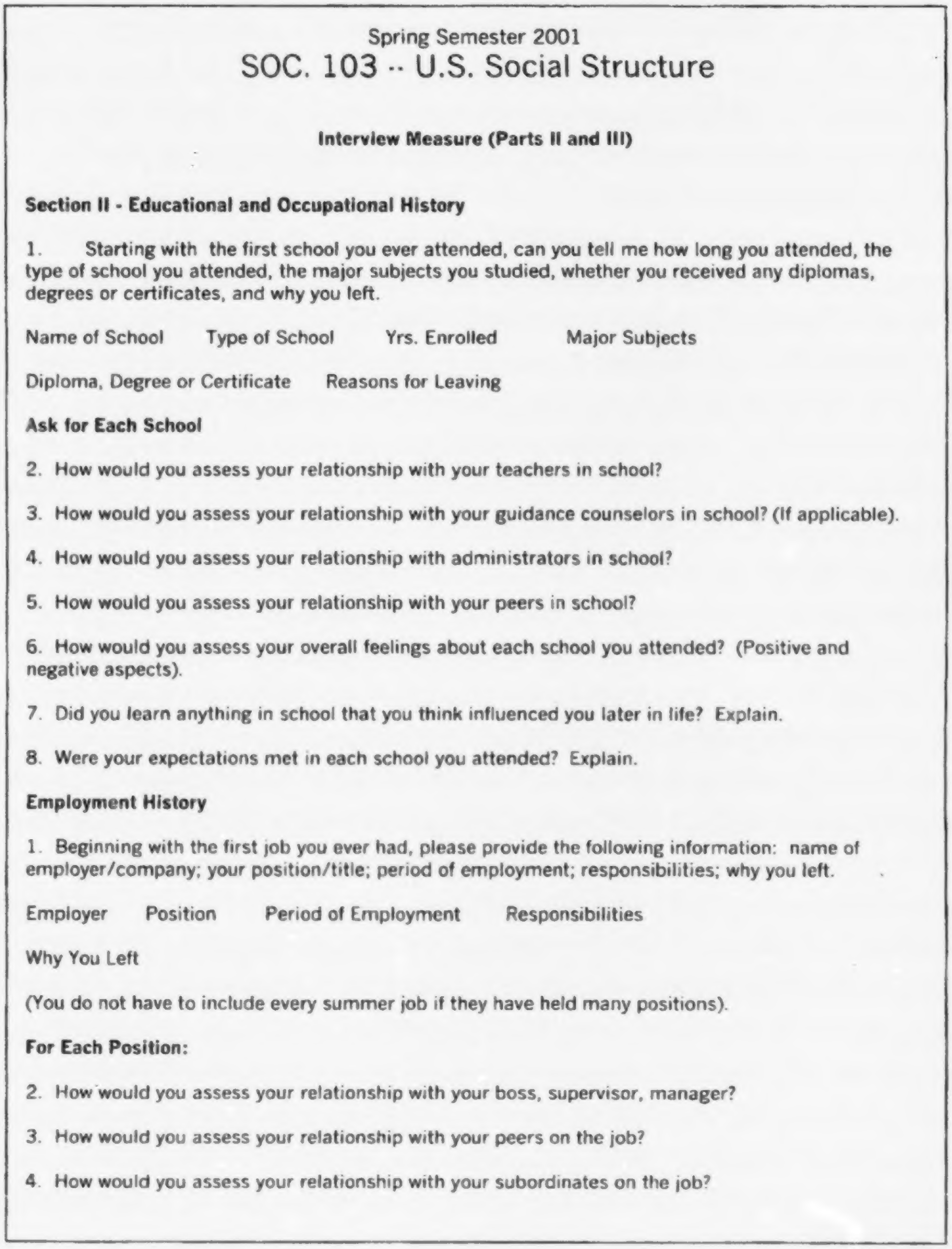


Spring Semester 2001

SOC. 103 -- U.S. Social Structure

Interview Measure (Parts II and III)

Section II - Educational and Occupational History

1. Starting with the first school you ever attended, can you tell me how long you attended, the type of school you attended, the major subjects you studied, whether you received any diplomas, degrees or certificates, and why you left.

Name of School Type of School Yrs. Enrolled Major Subjects

Diploma, Degree or Certificate Reasons for Leaving

Ask for Each School

2. How would you assess your relationship with your teachers in school?

3. How would you assess your relationship with your guidance counselors in school? (If applicable).

4. How would you assess your relationship with administrators in school?

5. How would you assess your relationship with your peers in school?

6. How would you assess your overall feelings about each school you attended? (Positive and negative aspects).

7. Did you learn anything in school that you think influenced you later in life? Explain.

8. Were your expectations met in each school you attended? Explain.

Employment History

1. Beginning with the first job you ever had, please provide the following information: name of employer/company; your position/title; period of employment; responsibilities; why you left.

Employer Position Period of Employment Responsibilities

Why You Left

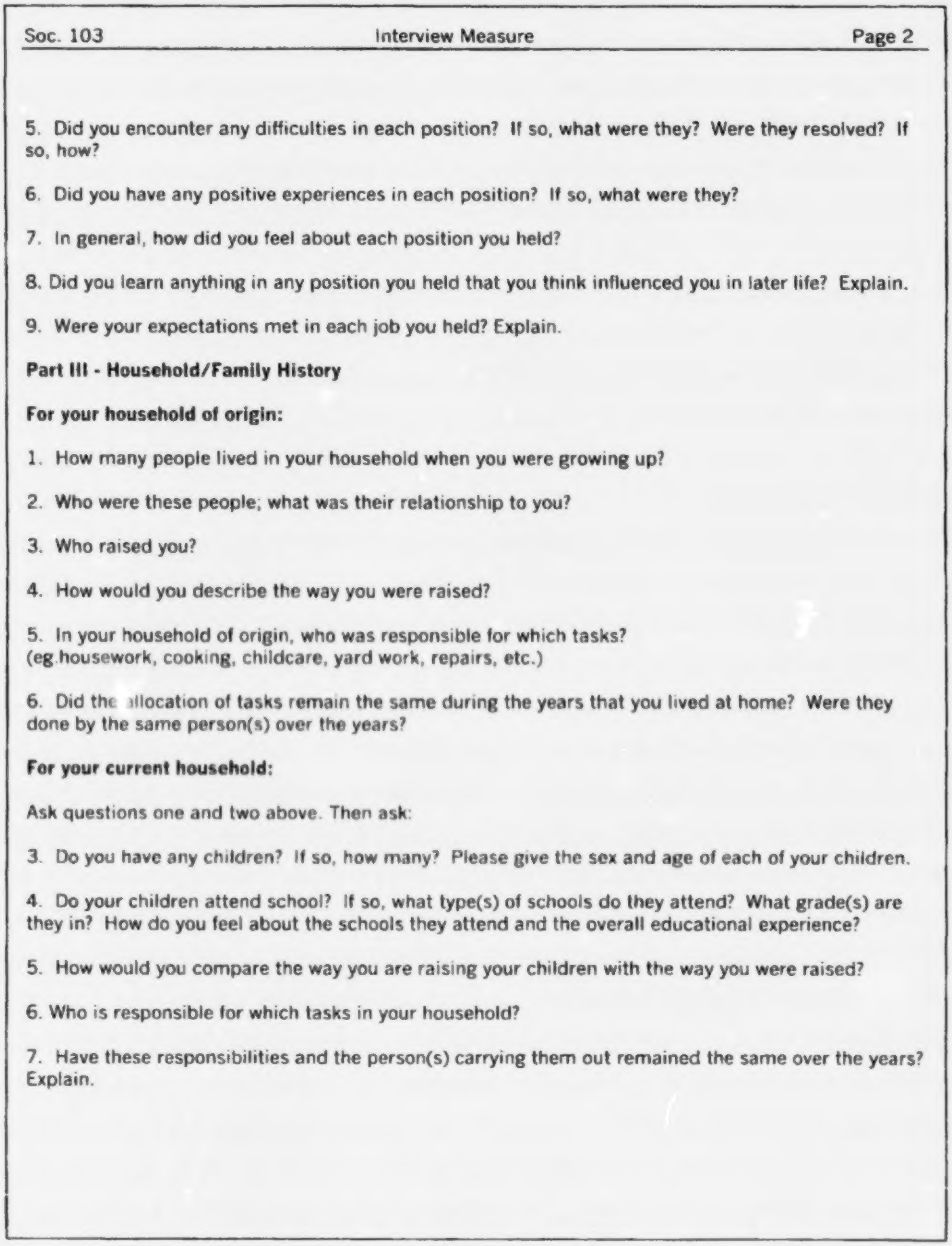
(You do not have to include every summer job if they have held many positions).

For Each Position:

2. How would you assess your relationship with your boss, supervisor, manager?

3. How would you assess your relationship with your peers on the job?

4. How would you assess your relationship with your subordinates on the job?



Soc. 103 Interview Measure Page 2

5. Did you encounter any difficulties in each position? If so, what were they? Were they resolved? If so, how?

6. Did you have any positive experiences in each position? If so, what were they?

7. In general, how did you feel about each position you held?

8. Did you learn anything in any position you held that you think influenced you in later life? Explain.

9. Were your expectations met in each job you held? Explain.

Part III - Household/Family History

For your household of origin:

1. How many people lived in your household when you were growing up?

2. Who were these people; what was their relationship to you?

3. Who raised you?

4. How would you describe the way you were raised?

5. In your household of origin, who was responsible for which tasks?
(eg.housework, cooking, childcare, yard work, repairs, etc.)

6. Did the allocation of tasks remain the same during the years that you lived at home? Were they done by the same person(s) over the years?

For your current household:

Ask questions one and two above. Then ask:

3. Do you have any children? If so, how many? Please give the sex and age of each of your children.

4. Do your children attend school? If so, what type(s) of schools do they attend? What grade(s) are they in? How do you feel about the schools they attend and the overall educational experience?

5. How would you compare the way you are raising your children with the way you were raised?

6. Who is responsible for which tasks in your household?

7. Have these responsibilities and the person(s) carrying them out remained the same over the years? Explain.

Sociology 422: Contemporary Theory

Spring, 2000

Ideas Inside History: Creating a Narrative of Your Times

If you notice the way Lemert's reader is structured, each section of readings (done in chronological order, from the 1950's through the 1990's) begins with a narrative describing the tenor, critical events and significant intellectual trends of each time period. He then goes on to "place" the readings in that section inside the historical period he has just described, and discusses how the ideas are a reflection of – or a response to – the historical period. The organization of the reader forces us to think about the interrelationship of history, society, biography (C.W. Mills!) and theorizing. What I would like for us to do is the following:

Divide up into groups of 4-5 individuals.

Create a group narrative of your "times," AND then place each one of your theses "inside" of the "times" as you have described them.

Sounds easy, right? Well, your group has to come to consensus about:

- ☐ What are the DATES of your "times?" This decision is significant. If your group decides that your "times" began in the 1960's, you have decided that something that happened before you were born impacted the formulation of your thesis topic in 1999. Interesting!
- ☐ What have been the SIGNIFICANT EVENTS of your "times?" Certainly use Lemert as a resource, but surely you must have additional ideas of events shaping the historical/social context of your intellectual work.
- ☐ What have been the SIGNIFICANT INTELLECTUAL movements or developments of your times?"
- ☐ What have been the SIGNIFICANT events of your personal biography influencing your work? Now, we do not need to get too personal here, but do reread C.W. Mills.
- ☐ Make sure your own projects are not "add-ons," but are embedded in the narrative. The point here is to clarify the relationship between history, society, personal biography and your work.

Type up your group narratives, and prepare them to share with the rest of the class. I will make copies for the entire class, and we will spend the next class period discussing them.

EVALUATION: This assignment will be evaluated in 2 ways. First, the GROUP will be evaluated in terms of the CLARITY and THOROUGHNESS of the overall narrative about sociohistorical context. Second, each INDIVIDUAL will be evaluated in terms of the CLARITY and THOROUGHNESS with which she connects her work to the group narrative.

And of course, PRESENTATION also matters.

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About the Contributors

The Editors

Catherine White Berheide *(editor)* is a sociologist of work and organizations, specializing in issues related to race and gender. Following a B.A. in sociology from Beloit College and an M.A. and Ph.D. in sociology from Northwestern University, she spent three years at Indiana University Southeast before joining the faculty of Skidmore College, where she is professor of sociology. She has chaired her department twice, directed two interdisciplinary programs at the college, including in women's studies, and served as assistant to the dean of faculty for diversity. She held a visiting fellowship at the Center of the Study, Education and Advancement of Women, University of California-Berkeley, and an ASA Congressional Fellowship, and she has just completed a year as a Carnegie scholar working on a project related to using capstone courses to assess sociology majors. Her books include *Women, Family, and Policy: A Global Perspective* (with Chow; SUNY Press, 1994). Her articles on the sociology of work, organizations, gender, and undergraduate education have appeared in *Teaching Sociology*, *Family Relations*, *Marriage and Family Review*, and *Sociology of Work and Occupations* as well as other journals and edited volumes. Currently chair of the ASA Task Force on the Undergraduate Sociology Major, she is coauthor of *Liberal Learning and the Sociology Major* (with Eberts et al.; ASA, 1991). Her many other teaching-related publications include guest editing a special issue of *Teaching Sociology* on sex and gender. She has led many teaching workshops, especially on developing sociology curricula, diversifying the curriculum by race, class, and gender, and conducting program reviews.

Jeffrey Chin *(editor)* is a Carnegie scholar and professor of sociology at Le Moyne College.

Dennis M. Rome *(editor)* is associate professor of criminal justice at Indiana University, Bloomington. He is a former Fulbright scholar and Carnegie scholar. Rome earned his bachelor's degree from Bradley University, a master's degree from Howard University, and a Ph.D. from Washington State University, Pullman. His areas of interest include race relations, crime, and mass media. His book *Black Demons: Media's Depiction of African American Males as Criminals* is forthcoming from Greenwood Press.

Carolyn Vasques-Scalera *(AAHE project editor)* is the director of diversity initiatives at the American Association for Higher Education. Her work focuses on the intersections of diversity and democracy, social justice education, intergroup dialogue, service-learning, and the sociology of education. She received her Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Michigan, where she was also active in the Center for Research on Learning and Teaching, the Center for Community Service and Learning, and the Program on Intergroup Relations, Conflict, and Community.

The Authors

Walter R. Allen is professor of sociology at the University of California-Los Angeles. He has held teaching appointments at the University of Michigan and the University of North Carolina. His research and teaching focus on family patterns, socialization and personality development, race and ethnic relations, social inequality, and higher education. Allen is codirector of CHOICES, a longitudinal study of college attendance among African American and Latino high school graduates in California. His more than 80 publications include *The Color Line and the Quality of Life in America* (1987), *Enacting Diverse Learning Environments: Improving the Climate for Racial/Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education Institutions* (1999), *College in Black and White* (1991), and *Black American Families, 1965-84* (1986). Allen has also been a consultant to industry, government, and the courts on issues related to race, education, and equity.

Richard Bucher is professor of sociology at Baltimore City Community College. He teaches a variety of courses, including Introductory Sociology, Cultural Diversity in the Workplace, and Race and Ethnic Relations. From 1991 to 1996, he served as the first director of BCCC's Institute for Intercultural Understanding. Under his leadership, the institute gained national recognition as an innovative diversity education program. In 1983, Bucher earned his Ph.D. in sociology from Howard University. The National Institute for Staff and Organization Development has honored Bucher for teaching excellence, and recently he was selected as the 2000 Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching/CASE Maryland Professor of the Year. He is an editorial consultant on diversity for Prentice Hall and the author of the recently published *Diversity Consciousness: Opening Our Minds to People, Cultures, and Opportunities.*

Mark A. Chesler is professor of sociology at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He is an activist scholar, primarily concerned with the translation or use of scientific knowledge to challenge injustice and improve community life. Chesler has published widely in the areas of race and ethnic relations, chronic childhood illness, voluntary and self-help organizations, and community service-learning. He is the coauthor (with James Crowfoot and Amanda Lewis) of a forthcoming book, *Challenging Racism and Promoting Multiculturalism in Higher Education.* He is a member-advocate and consultant with a variety of public agencies and educational organizations around issues of citizen empowerment, race and gender equity, and organizational/community change.

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Mary Johnson Osirim is associate professor and chair of the Department of Sociology and codirector of the Center for Ethnicities, Communities, and Social Policy at Bryn Mawr College. She is the former coordinator of the Africana studies program and director of the African studies consortium at Bryn Mawr. Her teaching and research interests have focused extensively on gender and development, the family, race and ethnic relations, economic sociology, and the role of entrepreneurship in African development. During the past 15 years, she has conducted fieldwork on entrepreneurship in the formal and informal sectors in urban southwestern Nigeria and Zimbabwe. She has worked extensively among the Yoruba and Edo peoples in Nigeria and the Shona and Ndebele groups in Zimbabwe. Through intensive interviewing of women and men in their small and microenterprises and the leaders of governmental and nongovernmental organizations involved in business development, she has developed expertise in gender relations and the household, customary law and practice, the operation of small and microenterprises, and the role of the state and public policy in development. She is the author of many articles on these topics, including a forthcoming publication in *Women's Studies International Forum*, "Making Good on Commitments to Grassroots Women: NGOs and Empowerment for Women in Contemporary Zimbabwe." She coauthored "The Professionalization of Black Women in the Academy: The Neglected Role of Classroom Experience," about teaching at liberal arts institutions. She is currently writing a book about women and African entrepreneurship.

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